

FOCUS

MIDWEST

Support score

Reagan commands strong support from Missouri, Illinois Delegations

PAC, New Right funds offset recession

GOP counts on buying '82 votes

Three incumbents eliminated after redistricting

Illinois: a primary report

Danforth flushes out 11 Democratic contenders

Missouri: a primary report

Checking up on Missouri and Illinois Congressmen

104 Congressional votes for 1981 and 1982

Editorials on nuclear freeze, prison reform, and Democratic Party reforms

out of focus

Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.

HOT UNDER THE COLLAR Benedictine Sister Ruth Heaney was cited by President Reagan as an example of volunteerism at work. But the good Sister, who manages Agape House, a Jefferson City shelter for prisoner's families, is more angry than grateful for the president's praise. "Using this case of volunteerism to justify budget cuts that affect the poor, the disadvantaged, gives me a hollow feeling," says Heaney, adding, "I'm hot under the collar about being used."

St Louis Review, April 28, 1982

INJURY IS MORAL The Moral Majority man in Indiana, Rev. Greg Dixon, wants parents to be exempt from that state's child abuse laws. Parents, Dixon argues, "own" their children, and punishment without injury isn't punishment.

San Francisco Bay Guardian (April 28, 1982)

THE GOODNESS OF MISSILES The McDonnell-Douglas Corporation is tired of criticism of its Cruise missile, so it decided to promote the goodness and usefulness of the weapon. Ads in *Time* and *Newsweek* proclaim the "missile for all seasons." Copy reminiscent of post office slogans, tell the reader "neither snow nor rain, no, nor leaves, nor gloom of night stays cruise missiles from the swift completion of their appointed rounds."

STATE TAXES UP Tax cuts under the Reagan administration turn out to be more fiction than fact. What is saved in federal taxes is being collected in ever-increasing taxes by the states. The National Conference of State Legislatures announced that 30 states were working under deficit scenarios for fiscal year 1982. NCSL reports that during their 1982 sessions, 8 states proposed raising their personal income tax, 11 looked at raising corporate taxation, 14 proposed increasing the sales tax, 19 considered changing the severance tax, 15 proposed raising their motor fuels excise tax, 11 proposed an increase in their alcoholic beverage excise tax, and 17 considered raising their tobacco excise tax.

WATCH THAT PTA MEMBER "The neighbor you might meet at a PTA meeting could be a foreign diplomat who lives down the block," warns a *Counterintelligence Awareness Briefing* recently circulated to employees at McDonnell-Douglas Corp. of St. Louis. Caution must be exercised towards "glad-handing strangers," hostile intelligence collectors who "use a honeyed, seemingly guileless approach," and "wolves in sheep's clothing" who "exploit the American belief in freedom of speech and the free exchange of information."

EAT TOBACCO Protein extracted from the tobacco leaf may be commercially available within five years. Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), whose state is heavily dependent on tobacco revenue, is selling the concept to his congressional colleagues. "With widespread use of tobacco proteins in conjunction with other food sources, we can literally eradicate hunger in the world."

Mother Jones (1982)

IS AMERICA BROKE? America cannot afford the cost of simply maintaining its vast network of public works: highways, bridges, prisons, water and sewage systems, mass transit, railroads, and even streets, reports a study prepared by the Council of State Planning Agencies (400 N. Capitol Street, Washington, D.C. 20001, \$9.95).

NEED A WIFE? For ten dollars, a Hawaiian entrepreneur will mail over 300 sample photos and descriptions of Oriental ladies according to an ad in *The Nation* magazine. The ladies are advertised as "faithful, affectionate, and home-loving" and looking for sincere and loving husbands.

FAMILY CONTRIBUTIONS The average American family will send \$19,600 to the Pentagon between 1981 and 1985, according to the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, which keeps tap on the average tax costs per family.

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A new mass movement

A new American mass movement is in the making. It is likely to be even more profound than public revulsion against the Vietnam war. Irrespective of political dispositions, Americans are being caught up in ever-increasing numbers by the drive to stop the nuclear arms race.

The National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign is growing. Its acceptance rests on the sanity of its message: The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. should "adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons" and nuclear delivery systems.

The "freeze" has been endorsed by 69 city governments, 22 county governments, and 11 state houses. The National Clearinghouse for the nuclear freeze movement, headquartered in St. Louis, reports that supportive organizations are active in 279 congressional districts, with upwards of 20,000 volunteers.

Indeed, the "freeze" movement is on its way to winning the heart and mind of mainstream America. It has been endorsed by 60 national and international organizations. The campaign displays a professionalism that for once approaches the effectiveness of the messages from the military and industrial complex. A national advertising campaign pushes the central message: "With the freeze, the United States and Russia would stop making nuclear weapons. Period."

In spite of growing acceptance and organizational sophistication, the time will come when it also will have to address the fears of all those who depend on a war-like economy.

The campaign must convince the American worker and industrialist that peace can be won, that peace is a viable alternative, and that peace will produce more jobs than military expenditures. Numerous studies have shown that every dollar spent on non-productive military hardware actually diminishes jobs.

During the infancy of the environmental movement, it also had to face the fear of a shrinking job market caused by strict regulations. Today the environmental industry is itself big business. The millions spent on conserving the environment have created thousands of jobs.

The public must be educated that a freeze cannot be enacted without economic pain. Anyone who thinks that a sudden groundswell of consciousness-raising will help solve these problems is mistaken.

In this issue

The strength of the Reagan administration is measurable in the support Congress gave to the president's key programs of 1981. Less discernable is the waning support Congress is extending Reagan's programs in 1982. The delegations of Missouri and Illinois, with some notable exceptions, have rallied behind the new conservatism, and the voting charts outline the depth of their retrenchment.

Will the conservative coalition maintain or increase its grip on Washington? *FOCUS/Midwest* provides some clues with a look at conservative fundraising and voting strategies.

No matter how big their financial war chest, the Republicans face the glum prospect of a 1982 election with unfavorable, court-ordered redistricting plans in Illinois and Missouri. *FOCUS/Midwest* examines redistricting, the primary results in Illinois, and the coming primary in Missouri. From it all, our readers will be able to make some projections for the November elections.

Public awareness, though, is a prerequisite to tackling any economic dislocation.

To freeze the production of nuclear weapons must be a priority. Should the campaign be successful, and that possibility does exist, it must recognize that the issue of survival is not limited to the nuclear threat. After all, famine throughout the world kills more innocents per year than all the nuclear weapons exploded so far. The wealth liberated by a freeze will open up and impose new responsibilities on America.

American Tragedy (cont.)

FOCUS/Midwest applauds the filing of a class-action complaint by a group of prison inmates to bar officials from overcrowding the Missouri Eastern Correctional Facility at Pacific.

Most American prisons are overcrowded, antiquated and compound the problem of crime rather than solve it. In two recent issues (Nos. 90 and 91), *FOCUS/Midwest* detailed at length both the indecencies of current institutions and the isolated programs which offer a potential of rehabilitation. The new facility at Pacific is described by Missouri offi-

EDITORIALS

cials as "innovative and responsive," and, indeed, it is. But as we also noted, "the lofty goals depend on one assumption: that it will not become overcrowded."

Now prison cells designed for one occupant are being modified so that the prison can accommodate an additional 128 prisoners. The pressure is created by over 6,000 prisoners in 10 correctional institutions—a system that was designed to hold only half its present population. Admittedly, the system is rotten and the conditions under which thousands of prisoners must live offends "the modern conscience" as U.S. District Judge Elmo B. Harper ruled. But one of the key elements of a rehabilitative program is a degree of privacy, individual cells, and attention.

Reducing Missouri Eastern to another institution which simply herds people undercuts the promise of hope and change in the life of the inmates.

Democrats abandon reform

Last March, the Democratic National Committee (DNC) overwhelmingly adopted a package of rule changes designed to increase the power of party regulars and give the quadrennial convention more leeway to act on its own. Taken together, the changes amount to a slap in the face to those who believe in greater representative government.

The new rules reserve 14 percent of delegate seats for Democrats who hold public office or party positions. These "superdelegates" will go to the convention uncommitted. The DNC also voted to jettison the rule that required delegates to vote on the first ballot for the candidate they had been elected to support. This means, in effect, that all the delegates to the 1984 convention will be uncommitted.

There's more. According to rules mandated by the party in 1980, states were obliged to allocate delegates to presidential candidates on the basis of proportional representation. That is, a candidate received a number of delegates corresponding to the percentage of a state's primary or caucus votes cast for him.

From now on, states will have the option of switching to one of two additional ways of choosing delegates:

- a "winner-take-more" system in which a candidate receives the number of delegates proportional to the

number of votes cast for him, but the candidate with the most votes statewide gets one extra delegate per district; or,

- a "loophole" system in which the candidate who receives the most votes in a district gets all that district's delegates.

With the possibility to win large clumps of delegates early in the primary season, a candidate could have the nomination locked up well before the convention. On the other hand, a candidate could win large blocs of delegates towards the end of the season and generate enough momentum to sweep the nomination at the convention.

As candidates are attracted to states with the possibility of winning delegate blocs, they drag the national news media *in their wake*. States will be tempted, therefore, to adopt a loophole primary to generate some free national publicity.

This is also seen in states' propensity for scheduling primaries early in the primary season when attention is particularly keen. In 1980, 36 percent of Democratic primaries were held before mid-April, as opposed to 12 percent in 1968.

The Democratic party rules changes will reinforce the tendency of the national press to focus on the contest, the horse race, rather than the issues. And releasing the delegates from their obligation to vote on the first ballot for the candidate they were elected to support as well as the addition of the uncommitted "superdelegates" will make for a more unpredictable convention and, possibly, a more entertaining one. The rule changes will result in better theater but poor representative government.

In support of the changes, a case can be made that they will strengthen party structure and cohesion, both worthwhile goals. Currently, party leaders in Congress and even on the local level may not be involved in the national convention. The outcome is a truncated party, say some Congressmen, that even in success can rarely implement party platform into public policy.

Even if we credit these arguments with some validity, *Focus/Midwest* tends to agree with Carrin Patman, member of the Texas Democratic executive committee, who commented, "Proportional representation assures a voice for everyone. If you take it away, all the rest of openness and fair play are ornaments without a Christmas tree."

20 YEARS OF PUBLISHING

After a two-year gestation period, *FOCUS/Midwest* saw the light of day in June of 1962. The lifespan of investigative and analytical journals rarely are measured in terms of decades, especially, if operated at a loss. Thus, we should and probably can take some satisfaction in longevity. But for publications, long life is not its own reward.

The occasion demands more: a review and a projection. Habitually and somewhat irrationally, we are committed to looking forward first. After all, only cynics believe you can do as little about the future as about the past.

What will the morrow bring?

Times change. Should we? Do we do justice to such a huge area (and it is huge) as Illinois and Missouri, our primary focus? The frustrating limitations of energy and time as well as the perpetual battle with circulation and distribution have forced us to abort many projects and even some of our dreams. Is it time to wake up? Or are we awake and is nearly everybody else asleep?

Shall we continue as we are? Shall we drop the "Midwest" and concentrate more on the national scene? Shall we replace the "Midwest" with "St. Louis" and concern ourselves with only one community? Shall we continue the present potpourri of political-social-cultural fare or drop one or two of these elements?

You will find no survey form or return envelope enclosed, but we invite your comments and your recommendations. Your responses will be carefully studied.

Do we ask, what does it all amount to? How effective has *FOCUS/Midwest* been in alerting its readers to the realities in our society? We must assume that if our readers had not valued what was being published, they would have stopped reading. Apparently, *FOCUS/Midwest* offers information and a perspective not available from other sources.

How effective has *FOCUS/Midwest* been in changing the course of events? This is a fair question. While many magazines value the elegant phrase and chiseled word picture, *FOCUS/Midwest* was also determined to deal with the whole spectrum of social and political forces which shape the life we lead or are forced to lead.

Directly, or more often indirectly, *FOCUS/Midwest* did indeed participate in shaping laws and institutions within its circumscribed area of circulation. For example, early in the sixties we worked with Irving Achtenberg of Kansas City on articles exposing the unequal apportionment of legislative districts (Remember: 3,936 equalled 53,015?). As a result of this involvement, Achtenberg initiated court action which—after joining with Paul Preisler of St. Louis—resulted in changes in how America elects its public officials, both state and national. One (wo)man one vote became a reality.

On a less imposing scale, several editorial barbs moved the heads of Washington and St. Louis Universities to pressure the University Club of St. Louis—an academic hangout—to remove its whites-only policy. (Another campaign on the admission policies of the Missouri Athletic Club was less effective and caused President Harry Truman to comment that, after all, it was a private club.)

In the mid-sixties, *FOCUS/Midwest* exposed the con job which Motorola perpetrated on the then-fledgling Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission. The falsehoods and half-truths detailed were so incriminating that all available issues of *FOCUS/Midwest* in the Chicago area were bought up (by Motorola, we think)—to the delight of Mike Royko whose follow-up caused another buying spree.

As we leaf through the back copies, we find more, much more. Poking fun at the Veiled Prophet ball . . . memorial issues for Kennedy and Stevenson . . . warning of a powder-keg mood at Lincoln University which erupted barely a month later . . . reminiscing about a suspect vote in the 1930s without which the St. Louis Gateway Arch could not have been built . . . revealing the nefarious practices of the Chicago police which were tamed only after a federal court decision last year . . . the involvement of the German consul of Chicago in the 1964 Goldwater election . . . publishing world press clippings on the tumultuous 1968 Democratic convention . . . delighting voters with an "unvarnished voter's guide" after which Missouri and Illinois General Assemblies were renamed "the naked legislatures" . . . revealing confrontation politics in Cairo, Illinois, which inspired a similar report by the U.S. Civil Right Commission . . . special issues on women, housing, the arts, education, prisons, grassroots organizing, neighborhood power . . . intensive studies of the workings of the Missouri and Illinois Arts Councils . . . exposing the corporate payola practiced by 41 major Illinois and Missouri corporations . . . indeed, *FOCUS/Midwest* had its own candidate for Watergate's "Deep Throat" (Robert F. Bennett) which became part of the media folklore (of course without credit, see *Newsweek*, June 14).

No recital is complete without a mention of the editors, writers and thinkers who have contributed to *FOCUS/Midwest*. From Arthur Goldberg in the first issue to William Carlos Williams, whose last poem appeared in *FOCUS/Midwest*. They are just too many. *FOCUS/Midwest* is not the project of a few. The original investors, the editorial advisors, writers and contributors, personal and business friends, editors and co-workers and, most important, the patience of my family have created this magazine.

As a footnote it should be mentioned that *FOCUS/Midwest* has been accused of leading a double life. Largely concerned with societal problems, it has faithfully published poems in almost every issue by some of the best writers not only in the Midwest but in the country. In the rarified air which poets breathe, *FOCUS/Midwest* enjoys its own reputation. As an advocate of facts and figures, *FOCUS/Midwest* published indices of fallout in its early years and then and today regularly reports on the voting records and political behavior of area legislators.

On balance, and though the final product will never match the intention, we can point to a past of limited accomplishments and to a future of further good intentions.

Your advice, we hope, will point the way.

Charles L. Klotzer

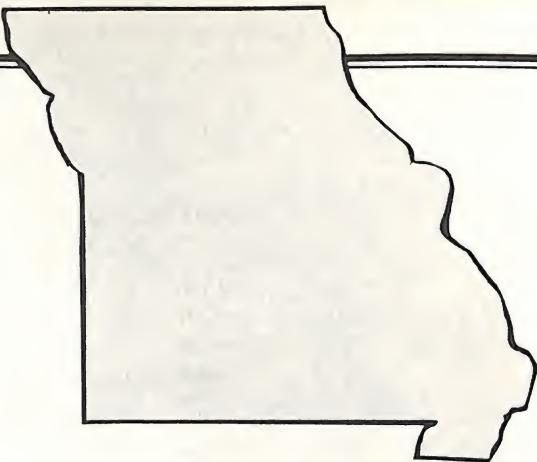
New Missouri Districts

(Effective 1982 congressional elections)



MISSOURI

Redistricting and the recession are key factors in boosting the number of primary candidates



SENATE

Incumbent. John C. Danforth (R.), 45, of Flat, will seek re-election. He was elected to a first term in 1976 with 56.9 percent of the vote.

Democrats. Tom Ryan, 31, of St. Louis, past co-director of the Missouri Public Interest Research Group; State Sen. Harriett Woods, 54, of University City; Thomas Zych, 42, of St. Louis, president of the St. Louis Board of Aldermen; Burleigh Arnold, Jefferson City lawyer-banker; Larry D. Hurt, 39, Poplar Bluff, president of the clients council of Southeast Missouri Legal Services; Herb Fillmore, 55, of Independence, minister; Judith L. Soignet, 42, Webster Groves, insurance broker; Lee C. Sutton, 76, of Columbia, former member of Missouri house; Sidney L. Phillips, 65, of Sumner, retired contractor; Theodis Brown, 32, of St. Louis, former St. Louis police officer; Betty Jane Jackson, 56, of Steele, member of Delta C-7 School Board in Pemiscot County.

Republicans. Vernon Riehl, 71, Chesterfield, retired administrative law judge and former 17th Ward alderman from St. Louis (1945-49); Gregory Hansman, 53, University City, candidate for GOP Senate nomination in 1974, 1976, and 1980; Mel Hancock, 52, Springfield, founder of Taxpayers Survival Association.

Ryan is running a vigorous, issue-oriented campaign, trying to pull together the traditional Democratic coalition of labor, minorities and rural conservatives with a philosophy he calls "not anti-business, but pro-people." Party officials praise Ryan's effort, but they are convinced that his

background with MOPIRG, a consumer advocacy group affiliated with Ralph Nader, will be less help than hindrance.

Woods represents a liberal St. Louis County district in the Legislature and has worked to improve nursing home conditions, pushed consumer protection measures and supported the Equal Right Amendment.

Zych spent six years in the Legislature, then won the 1980 citywide election for Board president. A strong opponent of abortion, he is moderate on most other issues.

Burleigh Arnold is considered the favorite of Democratic insiders. A prominent Jefferson City lawyer-banker and Democratic national committee man, Arnold was the "consensus" candidate of party leaders and fundraisers. While Arnold is well known by the Democratic leadership, he suffers a significant lack of name recognition unlike, for example, State Sen. Woods.

Whoever wins the Democratic nomination will be a long shot to defeat Danforth, who has good ties with a

broad spectrum of groups in the state, from the St. Louis business community, which usually finances GOP statewide candidates, to Democratic union officials. Danforth scored a major coup last summer when 30 labor leaders from the St. Louis area endorsed his re-election candidacy because he opposed right-to-work laws.

Lately, some of these leaders have withdrawn their endorsement of Danforth and are supporting Democrats.

Republicans who dislike Danforth's centrist politics searched last year for a conservative to challenge him in the primary. That effort has mostly subsided, although anti-tax crusader Mel Hancock of Springfield is mentioned occasionally. In 1980, Hancock successfully pushed an amendment limiting state spending. Neither Hancock, who has filed for the Republican nomination, nor the two other Republican candidates, have any prospects of unseating Danforth.

Danforth raised more than \$500,000 in 1981 and is campaigning actively to avoid creating the impression that he is overconfident.



John C. Danforth



Harriett Woods



Burleigh Arnold

NEW DISTRICTS COMPOUND HOUSE RACES

HOUSE

Missouri's redistricting plan, drawn by a three-judge federal panel, was announced Dec. 28 and successfully withstood court challenges.

The remap dismembers Rep. Wendell Bailey's 8th District and cuts off Rep. Bill Emerson's home from the rest of his southeast Missouri constituency. Democratic Rep. William Clay, whose St. Louis-based 1st District lost more than one-fourth of its population during the last decade, receives new territory to compensate for the decline. Clay was able to stave off efforts to eliminate his constituency to make the required statewide reduction from 10 districts to nine. The federal judges acted after the state Legislature failed to produce a new district map in two attempts during 1981—once during the regular session and again in a special redistricting session that adjourned Dec. 17.

1 (North St. Louis, northeast St. Louis County)

The redrawn 1st is divided nearly evenly between white and black residents. Clay, Missouri's only black congressman, faces serious opposition from State Sen. Allan G. Mueller, of St. Louis.

Clay is supported by most blacks and liberal whites.

Mueller launched his candidacy early in order to scare away competition and get a one-on-one match-up with the incumbent. He was influenced to run in part by state legislative reapportionment, which eliminated his St. Louis senate district.

Mueller has served in the legislature more than a decade, compiling a generally liberal record that could appeal to voters who like Clay's pro-labor stand but are uncomfortable with his penchant for confrontation. If re-elected, Clay will become the dean of the Missouri Congressional districts. Clay's activist stance on many national issues is expected to generate strong support among his supporters.

Other candidates for the Democratic nomination are Felix J. Panlasigui of St. Louis, Elsa Debra Hill of St. Louis and Thomas R. Colyer of St. Louis.

Although the primary promises to be hotly contested, the 1st District is the most strongly Democratic in Mis-

souri, favoring the party nominee in the general election. Republican candidates who are vying for the chance to represent a weak party organization are Jonathon M. Harris, Hugh V. Murray, William E. White, and Norbert D. Collins. White, who owns a local radio station, has run against Clay several times as the Republican standard-bearer.

2 (St. Louis County—southeast St. Charles County)

Democratic incumbent Robert Young picked up 70,000 constituents when part of St. Charles County was added to the remapped 2nd District. Young lost some of his strongest support when the St. Ferdinand Township was included in the remapped 1st District. Although that township was staunchly Democratic, it is also vocal in its opposition to busing—making it less a boon to Clay than it was to Young.

Young is being challenged by Edward Phelan Roche in the Democratic primary. Only one candidate has filed for the Republican nomination. He is Harold Dielmann, mayor of St. Ann.

3 (South St. Louis, St. Louis County, Jefferson County)

The addition of Democratic Jefferson County in the redistricting virtually assures incumbent Democratic Richard A. Gephardt of reelection. A relative newcomer to Congress, Gephardt has quickly risen in stature in the Democratic Party. He is running alone in the Democratic party. Three candidates are running for the Republican nomination: Roy Amelung, Richard Foristel and Doris M. Bass Landfather.

4 (West Central—Jefferson City)

Redistricting has set up a battle

between two incumbents: Democrat Ike Skelton of the 4th District and Republican Rep. Wendell Bailey, whose old 8th was cut up and distributed among four districts.

Bailey decided to run in the 4th because one-third of his current constituents are included in Skelton's redrawn territory. The district consists primarily of farms and small towns with some Kansas City suburbs in its northwestern corner.

Freshman Bailey, 41, will have an uphill fight for political survival. In his 1980 campaign, he offered himself as the conservative alternative to a moderate Democrat, but Skelton, 50, votes a conservative line in Congress and is far less vulnerable to a challenge from the right.

The Republican should run well in the seven counties that come into the 4th from his old 8th District. Skelton will be favored in the Jackson County portion of the district, which lies east of Kansas City. The general election will be won and lost in the 12 mostly rural counties southeast of Kansas City that remain in the district. Bailey showed considerable rural strength in his 1980 campaign, but Skelton, a small-town lawyer before his election to the House, has carefully cultivated this constituency over three terms in office.

Skelton is running unopposed in the Democratic primary. Bailey faces one challenger. He is Dale L. Parvin of Eldon.

5 (Kansas City and eastern suburbs)

During the 17-term reign of Democratic Rep. Richard Bolling, most elections in the 5th were dull affairs.

With Bolling's retirement, announced last August, pent-up politi-

cal energy is being released.

Candidates to file in the Democrat-



William Clay

Bill Emerson

Wendell Bailey

15 FILE FOR BOLLING'S SEAT

ic party are John Carnes, a city councilman in Independence, lawyer James Kenworthy, Andrew McCance, a Kansas City surgeon and former Jackson County coroner, state Rep. Jack Campbell, who could draw business support, and state Rep. Alan Wheat, who could draw upon the support of black voters who make up about one fourth of the 5th. Other candidates vying for the Democratic nomination are John Masterman of Kansas City, John Price of Kansas City, and William C. Paxton of Independence.

Republican contenders include state Rep. Mike Ethington of Independence, Barry Seward, a member of the Raytown Board of Alderman, Emmet Roach of Kansas City, Stella Sollars of Kansas City, Joanne M. Collins of Kansas City, John A. Sharp of Kansas City, and Jim Lydon, of Kansas City.

While redistricting created a better balance between the parties by adding Independence and other suburbs east of the city, the district is still predominately urban and likely to remain in the Democratic camp.

6 (Northwestern Missouri)

Incumbent Republican Tom Coleman is being challenged by Robert L. Buck. Candidates vying for the Democratic nomination are Jim Russell, Rex S. Taylor, David C. Christian, and J. Herbert Francisco.

Remapping left Coleman's district virtually intact. A conservative Reagan supporter, he is not likely to suffer any serious repercussions due to redistricting.

7 (Southwestern Missouri)

The 7th District, held by Republican Gene Taylor, lost little with redistricting, only two counties. Taylor faces no Republican challengers for his seat.

Democrats who have filed for their party's nomination include Bill Dailey, David A. Geisler, and James W. Roberts.

8 (Southeast—Cape Girardeau)

Democratic state Rep. Jerry Ford of Cape Girardeau has been building a campaign since this district went Republican in 1980, and his efforts seem to have pre-empted other Democrats from running.

Although Ford is running against two other candidates—Frank X. Hastings of Bloomsdale and John L. Woodward of Cuba—he has already

mapped out a fall election strategy. He is confident, some say too confident, that he will defeat Republican Rep. Bill Emerson. Emerson, whose Jefferson County home was placed in the mostly urban 3rd District by the remap, is running in the 8th, which contains most of the territory he currently represents.

Ford, 39, will try to pin a carpetbagger label on Emerson, claiming that the 44-year-old incumbent habitually changes his residence for political purposes. A Washington lobbyist in the 1970s, Emerson moved back to his home state when he began preparing his 1980 campaign against Democratic Rep. Bill Burlison. Now he is moving again.

Emerson is running unopposed for the Republican nomination.

The poor state of the economy was a key theme in Emerson's successful challenge to Burlison, and Ford plans to turn the tables this year. He faults President Reagan's program for hurting the rural poor in the ~~the rural poor in the~~.

At the center of Ford's campaign is an appeal to the traditionally Democratic voters of southeast Missouri to return to the party fold. Many of them deserted in 1908, drawn by Reagan's conservatism and driven away by Burlison's national Democratic loyalty and personal problems.

Emerson, who serves on the House Agriculture Committee, endeared himself to farmers by sponsoring legislation to revise federal bankruptcy laws to allow prompt grain removal rights. A storage company in the district went bankrupt in 1981, and farmers were barred from removing their perishable stocks from the company's elevators.

The largest block of votes in the redrawn 8th will be cast in Cape Girardeau County, which has been voting Republican in congressional elections. But Ford's home is there, and he hopes to split the county's vote with Emerson. On the western border of the 8th are seven counties containing more than 130,000 people currently represented by Republican Wendell Bailey. Bailey carried six of the seven counties in his 1980 race, and Emerson needs to match that success this year.

(Northeastern Missouri)
9 Incumbent Democrat Harold Volkmer gained some of St. Charles County (from the 2nd District) when the 9th was remapped. Volkmer is not being challenged in his party, although two Republicans, Nandor (Fred) Hettig and Larry E. Mead, are vying to challenge Volkmer in November.

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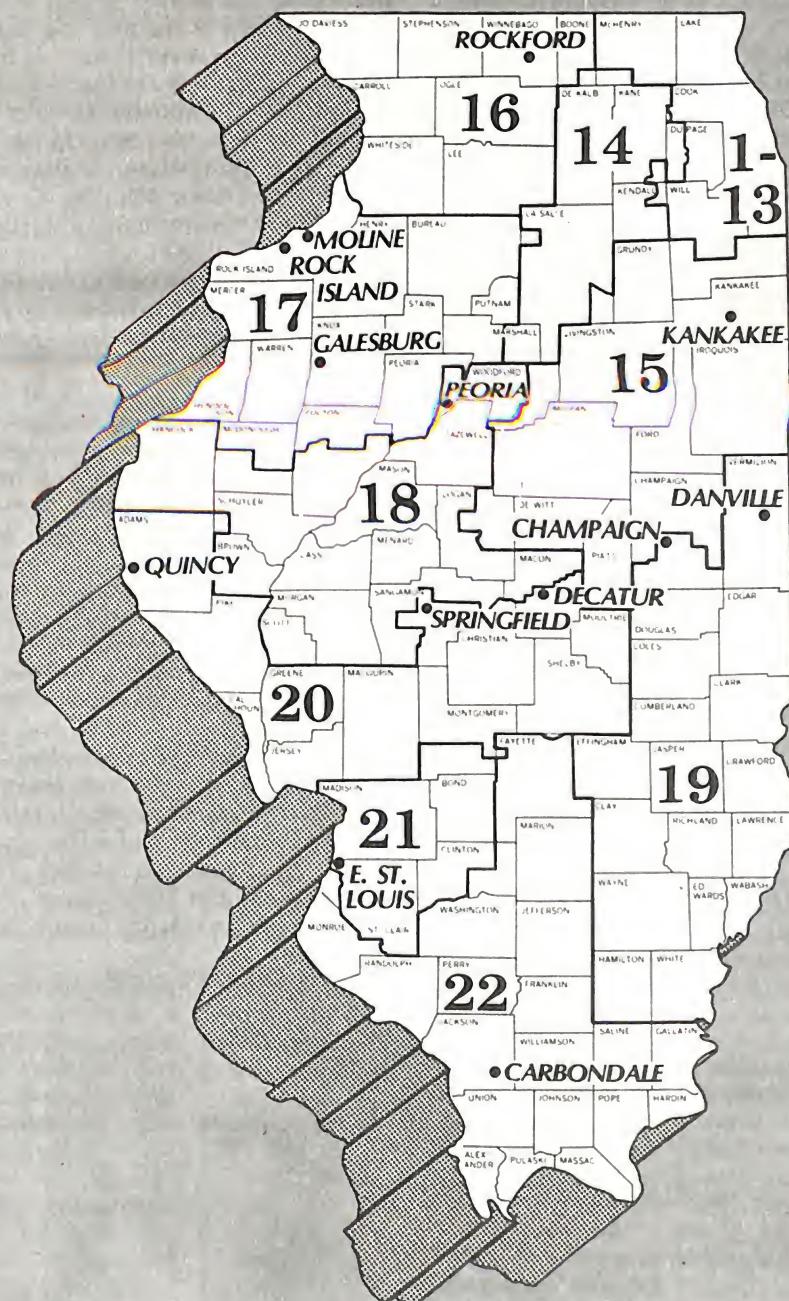
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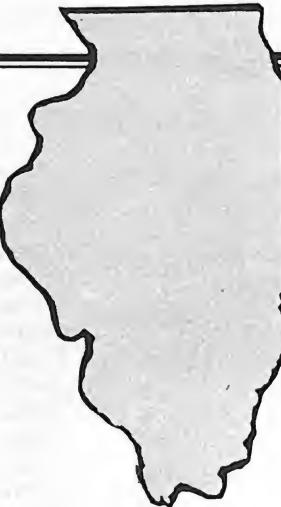
New Illinois Districts

(Effective 1982 congressional elections)



ILLINOIS

Demos sophisticated, court-approved redistricting plan cuts into GOP districts



HOUSE

The surprise ending of the Illinois redistricting saga was the approval of a partisan Democratic congressional map despite the presence of a Republican governor, a GOP-controlled state House and a three-judge federal panel with two Nixon appointees. The map eliminates two suburban Republican districts even though most of the state's population decline was in Chicago's inner city.

A major realignment was necessary because reapportionment cost Illinois two districts, forcing a reduction from 24 seats to 22. Since control of the Legislature is split between the parties, it was obvious early in 1981 that no compromise could be reached. As a result, the court took responsibility for selecting a redistricting plan.

Its ruling came Nov. 23, on a 2-1 vote that chose the map drawn up by Democrats in the Legislature over a Republican proposal.

The Democratic victory was due in part to a sophisticated computer program that made possible the creation of districts having almost exactly equal population. The court did commend the Democratic plan for preserving three black-majority districts in Chicago.

Another explicit factor in the court decision was the overall strength of each party in the state. The court said Illinois appeared to be about evenly divided between Democrats and Republicans, based on recent election returns, and that the Democratic map would come closest to that split.

Democrats drew their map for the express purpose of protecting as many of their incumbents as possible. Led by Michael Madigan, the state House minority leader, they concentrated their cartographic ingenuity on the Chicago area. To retain the eight Democratic seats based in Chicago, which all but one lost population, Madigan extended them into the Republican suburbs, adding enough population to reach the ideal district size but leaving the city residents with the voting majority. Several districts reached outside the city limits for the first time. Only one district is now entirely within Chicago.

The Democratic victory provides a form of revenge for the redistricting that took place a decade ago, when a different federal panel accepted a Republican map that cost the Democratic Party two seats.

(Chicago—South Side)

1 The 1st contains the heart of Chicago's black South Side. During the 1970s, it lost 20 percent of its population. In order to keep it in existence for the 1980s, map makers extended its boundaries in virtually every direction, bringing in voters from other urban districts, which in turn were stretched into the suburbs to gain back the population they gave up.

Like the old 1st, the new one is overwhelmingly Democratic. About 92 percent of its residents are black, and its small white population, centered around the University of Chicago in Hyde Park, is as Democratic as the black majority.

Many of the district's poorer black residents live in public housing proj-

ects. One of them, the Robert Taylor Homes, is the largest such project in the country. It extends for 25 blocks and houses 75,000 people.

A generation ago, these compact projects made the black vote easier for the city's Democratic organization to control. But the South Side, long the fiefdom of veteran U.S. Rep. William L. Dawson (D 1943-70), has been rebellious in recent years. Voters here backed the late Rep. Ralph H. Metcalfe (D 1971-78) when the veteran Democrat broke with the machine in 1976. In 1980 they turned out Metcalfe's machine-backed successor and replaced him with the independent Washington.

2 (*South Side Chicago, Harvey*) Democratic Rep. Gus Savage, famous for his high rate of absenteeism from Congress in 1981, narrowly escaped defeat in the 2nd District on Chicago's Far South Side. Savage faced two strong challengers, former Chicago Transit Authority Chairman Eugene M. Barnes and Rep. Monica F. Stewart.

In spite of Chicago Mayor Byrne's endorsement of Barnes, Savage, a 30-year activist in South Side politics, lured to his side a number of precinct captains. Some of them have been his friends for years; others were dissatisfied with Barnes's delivery of patronage jobs when he was CTA chairman. A few party leaders who backed Savage are pondering a future run for the House themselves and opposed Barnes to prevent the mayor's organization from planting its man in the 2nd District seat.

Before Barnes ran the CTA, he made a name for himself during nine

2ND AND 3RD DIVIDE BLACK AND WHITE

years in the Illinois House, where he was appropriations committee chairman.

A number of anti-Savage voters chose Stewart, an articulate first-term legislator who said the incumbent's performance in the House reduced him to the level of a comic figure. Stewart's candidacy received financial support from the Americans for Democratic Action and the National Committee for an Effective Congress. Stewart received one-fifth of the vote, running well behind the closely grouped Savage and Barnes. The Republican nominee, Kevin Walter Sparks, has no chance to win in November.

For the first time, the 2nd District has crept beyond the city limits, into the southern suburbs formerly included in the 3rd. But the politics of the district will not change dramatically.

The new lines of the 2nd were carefully drawn to take in communities with black majorities. As a result, blacks still comprise 70 percent of the population.

But the new 2nd also takes in some white suburban territory, including Dolton, Riverdale, and part of Calumet City, all blue-collar in their orientation and less than 10 percent black. Many of the people here moved out from the far South Side of the city in the past two decades.

The district still includes the vast industrial area around the Calumet River, where the sky, trees and grass have long been blackened with soot, but where factory workers have been able to count on steady work and decent pay. These days the grass is still gray, but the mills are in decline or closed. Fewer freighters are coming to the Chicago ports, reducing the number of jobs. A Ford Motor Company plant in the district is still operating, though layoffs are frequent.

3 (*Southwest Chicago and suburbs*) The line between the 2nd and 3rd districts is also the line between black and white Chicago. Russo's district, concentrated on the west side of Western Avenue and in the suburbs just beyond the city, is 91 percent white.

About 40 percent of the population is new to Russo. The new territory comes primarily from the old 4th District, a suburban constituency that Democratic map makers divided up and used to fill out underpopulated city-based districts.

The remaining city portions of the district are dominated by blue-collar ethnics, many of Polish and Lithuanian origin. But Beverly, traditional home for Chicago's well-to-do Irish Catholics, is also included.

The area's voting patterns have been erratic in the past decade. Many of the people here are ethnics who emerged into prosperity in the 1960s, left the city, and began to vote Republican in some contests. When the old 3rd was drawn in 1972, it was expected to send a Republican to the House. But it turned out GOP Rep. Robert Hanrahan for Democrat Russo in 1974 and returned Russo. Many of these communities swing back and forth between the parties.

4 (*Southern Chicago suburbs, Joliet, Aurora*)

The remap was the sole determinant in the 4th District contest between Reps. George M. O'Brien and Edward J. Derwinski, two philosophically compatible Republicans paired by redistricting. O'Brien finished first chiefly because 60 percent of the electorate in the reshaped 4th had been part of his old 17th District for the past decade.

O'Brien and Derwinski are friends and allies in the House, and their campaign was a gentlemanly affair throughout. Derwinski stressed that he is younger and has more seniority than O'Brien. Derwinski, 55, has served in Congress for 23 years. O'Brien, 64, was first elected to the House in 1972.

Both of Chicago's major newspapers endorsed Derwinski.

The incumbents' attempts to draw distinction between themselves had less influence on the outcome than redistricting, which gave a clear advantage to O'Brien that Derwinski could not overcome. O'Brien finished about 3,000 votes ahead and is a heavy favorite to win in November in this strongly Republican district.

The 4th is a new animal, built from remnants of the old 4th, 15th, and 17th. It includes the southern end of Cook County, the section of Will County around the city of Joliet, and portions of Kane and Kendall counties around the city of Aurora.

Derwinski's old 4th District, a suburban area that ran along the western edge of the city and then spread out to the southwest, was completely dismantled. Only Rich Township, an affluent suburban area that includes Derwinski's home of Flossmoor, was

left in the new 4th. The rest of the old district was a casualty of the geographic realignment designed to preserve the Democratic districts in Chicago.

The map makers were far kinder to O'Brien. Although forced to give up Iroquois and Kankakee counties and the southern half of Will County, O'Brien retains in the new 4th his political base of Joliet, a largely blue-collar city of 78,000 with several oil refineries.



Edward J. Derwinski

5 (*South central Chicago and suburbs*)

In the Democratic primary, the defeat of Rep. John G. Fary in southwest Chicago's 5th district had little to do with either issues or district boundaries. Fary lost because the bulk of the party organization that installed him in office and sustained his career scuttled him in favor of a younger man, Alderman William O. Lipinski.

The challenger relied on strong support from his own heavily Democratic 23rd Ward and on the 11th Ward network of Richard M. Daley, state's attorney for Cook County. The 11th always traditionally turns out a massive vote and is loyal to the Daley family.

Richard M. Daley's father, the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, tapped Fary for the 5th District House seat in 1975 as a reward for dutiful service to the mayor's organization in the state legislature. But the younger Daley, who is trying to expand his influence in preparation for a mayoral bid next year, directed his lieutenants to choose Lipinski over Fary when Democratic officials named the party slate for 1982.

In the final days of the campaign, Fary called on federal authorities to *continued on page 15*

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By Alan Ehrenhalt

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In the years since then, Fary has found that his party leaders, even if he might think they are slightly more flawed in their political judgment than Mayor Daley, are also right most of the time.

"He's never come up as a problem on any vote where we needed him," says one Democratic leadership aide. "You always have a list of undecideds to keep track of, but John is never on it. He's an automatic yes."

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His is not a very conspicuous form of loyalty. One can sit in the gallery for months without hearing Fary address the House, although he is usually nearby, reading at the back of the chamber or lingering in the dining room over lunch with friends in the Illinois delegation.

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Ironically, Fary lost his seat in one of the few parts of the country where party organizations still exist in something like their traditional form. He lived off the Daley organization, and he was a victim of it—the remnants of the late mayor's South Side machine decided Fary's time was up this year and gave the official party slating to Lipinski, a Chicago alderman.

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—Congressional Quarterly

continued from page 13

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Lipinski's campaign-closing salvo, delivered in an appearance with Daley, was a charge that Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne was quietly maneuvering to line up support for Fary. Byrne is not widely popular in southwest Chicago, and she played no public role in the primary. But it is an open secret that she hoped for a Fary victory, which would have seriously damaged Daley's prestige in his own political back yard.

Fary received some help from Byrne supporters in the district, but bereft of the slatemakers' endorsement for the first time in his career, Fary could not put together a network of his own. He received just over one-third of the vote.

Nearly twice the geographic size of the old 5th District, the new version begins about a mile from Lake Michigan and extends west to the split-levels of suburban Willow Springs, following the route of the Adlai Stevenson Expressway. The 5th had to expand because it lost 15 percent of its population during the 1970s. But despite the realignment, it remains firmly Democratic territory; it keeps not only the home territory of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, but also the political organization he dominated. The Daley machine has stayed intact in most of the city parts of the new 5th, even though it has decayed elsewhere in Chicago.

Daley lived his entire life in Bridgeport, an almost exclusively Irish neighborhood, but Eastern Europeans, especially Poles, dominate the broader territory within the congressional district.

Some of the additions will increase the district's Republican vote. The new 5th picks up the Czech and Bohemian enclaves of Cicero and Berwyn, which have been voting Republican in most contests, and the white-collar suburbs of Bridgeview and Hickory Hills, which lean to the GOP.

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The racial makeup of the 5th changes dramatically. By 1980, the old 5th had become 30 percent black, reflecting the movement of blacks into the southeastern part of the dis-

trict, despite some white resistance. But redistricting transferred these neighborhoods to the overwhelmingly black 1st District, and the suburbs brought into the 5th are virtually all white.

The new 5th does retain a significant Hispanic population. About a quarter of its people are Hispanic, up from 17 percent in the old 5th.

6 (Far West Chicago Suburbs—Wheaton)

Henry J. Hyde trades his old GOP constituency for one equally Republican but almost entirely unfamiliar to him. Fewer than 5 percent of his new constituents were in the district he represented in the 1970s.

Like the neighboring 4th, the old 6th was chopped up and grafted in pieces onto the western ends of inner-city Chicago districts that needed to gain population. Only a small area around Itasca and Wood Dale was carried over to the new 6th.

If Hyde feels disoriented, however, he has little to complain about politically. The old 6th, while it re-elected him comfortably, had pockets of Democratic strength in Maywood and other moderate-income suburbs with significant black populations. There are no such enclaves apparent in the new district, whose suburban territory is nearly all white-collar and Republican. The only political change necessary for Hyde may be a shift in attention from ethnic holidays and festivals to sessions with the Rotary and Jaycress.

7 (Chicago—Downtown, West Side)

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wood. Mixed in among the residential areas are industrial zones, with a major A&P warehouse and Sears trucking facilities. The campus of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle is in the district, along with the West Side medical center complex.

Much of the new territory is made up of areas such as Austin along the city's western border, traditionally Eastern European in ethnic makeup but increasingly black during the 1970s. Collins picks up these communities from Democrat Dan Rostenkowski's 8th District. Because of these moves, the 7th actually increases its black population from 50 percent to nearly 70 percent, despite the suburban additions.

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The new 8th essentially follows Rostenkowski's old loyalists in their movement northwest from the inner city. It is more than 70 percent white, thanks to the addition not only of Polish neighborhoods within the city but of suburbs to the west, including River Grove and Elmwood Park. The new suburban constituents have voted Republican in the past, but they are largely ethnic, recently transplanted from the city and should respond well to Rostenkowski.

The new 8th is just 4 percent black. Rostenkowski will, however, be representing a substantial Hispanic population, increased to more than 30 percent from the 27 percent in the old 8th.

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Lipinski is a friend of Richard M. Daley, the late mayor's son, who is expected to run for mayor in 1983, and young Daley felt Lipinski would be more help to him in that effort than the aging incumbent.

Fary, as a creature of the machine, had no personal organization to draw on. He had some support in the faction of the old Daley machine currently loyal to Mayor Jane Byrne, and he had some old friends in the Polish National Alliance. But that did not amount to much in the end. The 35 percent of the vote that Fary received in the March 16 primary was as respectable a showing as he could expect.

In most places in the country, nobody gets dumped by "the party" because nobody owes his success to it in the first place. Chicago is about the only place in the United States where a member of Congress can still find himself in that position.

Candidates generally win election to Congress by building their own organizations and raising their own money, and they are free to vote as they please when they arrive. The issues they work on are the ones they know will build constituencies for them back home.

A House full of activists and entrepreneurs is more interesting and probably more competent than one whose members spend the afternoon reading the newspaper and occasionally napping in the back row. But it is not very easy to lead.

Democratic countries elsewhere in the world are not inclined the way we are to laugh at backbench legislators. It is commonly accepted in other countries that most people in a legislative body will support a party program, accept party support as their campaign "reward" and live or die at home by the party's reputation.

The House of Representatives, which never came very close to that model, is moving further away from it every year. The forced departure of John Fary next year will take the politics of absolute loyalty one step closer to its ultimate extinction.

—Congressional Quarterly

THE 1982 ILLINOIS PRIMARY

continued from page 13

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In the 9th District, Democrat Sid-

THE 1982 ILLINOIS PRIMARY

ney R. Yates crushed his primary competition. But the 72-year-old veteran will be tested in the fall by Republican Catherine Bertini, 31, a corporate affairs executive who was the consensus nominee of her party and should be able to run a well-financed campaign.

The most striking characteristic of the new 9th is its shape. Narrow at its base along Lake Michigan, it widens and turns westward once it reaches the city's northern limits, ending in a hook around the suburbs of Glenview and Northbrook. The purpose of the elaborate cartography was to create a secure district for Yates by including liberal areas within the city and heavily Jewish suburban communities where he should run well.

The old 9th was confined to the city, but it lost 10 percent of its population in the 1970s, forcing an expansion into the suburbs. The new 9th is still anchored on the North Side of Chicago, but it now runs north along the lake all the way to Evanston, and its western portion takes in Skokie, Wilmette, Morton Grove and a chunk of Northfield township. About 35 percent of the population is new to the district.

The city portion of the new 9th includes a mixture of neighborhoods, from the wealthy lakefront high-rises to the two- and three-story walkups just a few blocks to the west. These apartments house many of the prosperous singles and childless couples who work in professional jobs in downtown Chicago. There is also an urban restoration contingent living in older homes in the area. The city portion of the 9th contains some of Chicago's few remaining Republican wards, but even here voters have been loyal to Yates.

Hispanics comprise about 10 percent of the overall population of the district. The new 9th is also about 10 percent black. Minorities should also be solid Yates supporters.

10 (North and Northwest Suburbs—Waukegan)

When John E. Porter's Evanston home was placed in the Democratic 9th by redistricting, he announced he would move north to challenge Robert McClory in the 10th, where Republican loyalties are solid. But the showdown never took place. The 74-year-old McClory, after announcing and filing for an 11th term, said in January that he was stepping down

to make room for his younger colleague.

The communities along Lake Michigan of Chicago are the city's oldest suburbs, and generally its most affluent. Fully developed long ago, they declined in population in the 1970s as the younger residents grew up and moved away. To erase the resulting population deficit in Porter's old 10th District, centered on these communities, map makers moved it north to merge with portions of Republican Philip M. Crane's 13th District and McClory's old 12th, based in Waukegan. The new 10th extends north to the Wisconsin border, including McClory's old lakefront towns but shedding most of the newer suburban territory further west.

The hybrid district is firmly Republican. The only major Democratic enclave is the port city of Waukegan.

Much of the district's vote will be cast in affluent Lake County towns like Highland Park, Lake Forest and Deerfield, where most voters tend to prefer moderate Republicans but rarely cross over to the Democratic side. Porter fits this area well.

Almost 80 percent of the population is new to Porter. But the 20 percent that Porter keeps generally includes the most loyal Republicans in his old constituency. As a whole, the district gave Reagan 60 percent of its vote in 1980.

11 (Northwest Chicago and suburbs)

Concentrated entirely within Chicago during the past decade, the 11th takes on new Republican territory in the suburbs but still seems likely to provide a base for Frank Annunzio. The veteran Democrat successfully transplanted himself a decade ago, when his old West Side district was eliminated, and he is already working on a similar effort. Many of his new suburban constituents moved out in the 1970s from the old West Side 7th; like other Chicago Democrats, Annunzio is simply following them to the suburbs.

"These are my people," he said recently. "Lincolnwood? My daughter lives in Lincolnwood. Stone Park? There's a seminary there for Italian priests, and an Italian-American cultural center. Northlake? That's where we have an Italian old folks' home."

The redrawn 11th stretches north to Niles and west to O'Hare Airport, taking in a collection of middle-class suburban developments built in the

1950s and early 1960s. Its residents are largely ethnic in background, but they have moved beyond their blue-collar roots; many of them voted for Republican candidates in statewide elections during the past decade.

Like the old 11th, the new district is overwhelmingly white. About 6 percent of the population is Hispanic; less than 1 percent is black. The substantial Jewish community in Rogers Park, within the city limits, will be joined by a large Jewish population in part of Skokie, which has been split between the 11th and the 9th.

12 (Far Northwest Suburbs—Palatine)

Philip M. Crane's new district contains only 46 percent of the people who lived in his old 12th, but the veteran GOP conservative can take his time getting to know his new constituents. Crane faces no opposition either for renomination or re-election.

The lack of competition is a clue to the political makeup of the district. Crane's new 12th is even more Republican than the old one, which cast 62 percent of its votes for Reagan in 1980.

The population center of the new district will still be the outer suburban area of Chicago, including Palatine and Hoffman Estates, which have grown dramatically in the past 20 years. But the geography of the district has been totally revised. In the past decade, Crane represented the populous southern portion of Lake County, including wealthy lakefront suburbs such as Highland Park and Deerfield. For the 1980s, he has been moved north and west, taking on semi-rural McHenry County and only the western two-thirds of Lake.

The new alignment all but removes the district from the metropolitan Chicago political orbit. When Crane won his first term in 1969, his district took in most of northern Cook County. But population increases forced that constituency to be split in two, and Crane chose to run in 1972 in the newer suburban area to the northwest, which was more Republican. Now the lines move again, and not an inch of Crane's original territory remains in the new district.

13 (Southwest Chicago Suburbs—Downers Grove)

In a Republican primary in the suburbs west of Chicago, GOP incumbent John N. Erlenborn turned what was thought to be a close contest into

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a rout. Like Tom Railsback in the 17th District, Erlenborn had won re-election easily for many years, and this time faced a conservative challenge in a district considerably altered by the remap.

But state Sen. Mark Q. Rhoads was unable to make the situation work for him as Kenneth G. McMillan did against Railsback. While he attacked Erlenborn as too liberal, the majority of voters were not impressed with his criticisms, and Rhoads's own base of support was undercut by another conservative challenger, former state Sen. Terrel E. Clarke. Because the 13th is heavily Republican, Erlenborn is now assured of re-election.

The new 13th moves out of Du Page County to concentrate much of its vote in Cook County suburbs nearer to Chicago, but it keeps its political and economic character. It is one of the most affluent districts in the country.

Because it grew during the 1970s by 34.8 percent, more than any other district in the state, Erlenborn's old 14th had to be redrawn. In the past decade, its lines were virtually identical with those of Du Page County. Now Du Page will cast barely 50 percent of the vote. About 40 percent will be cast within Cook County.

The most densely populated areas of the new district cluster along the old Burlington Northern tracks that extend west from the city to Riverside, Western Springs, Hinsdale, Clarendon and Downers Grove.

14 (North Central— De Kalb, Elgin)

The new 14th stretches from Naperville, whose commuters hop the train for Chicago, south to Wenona, a crossroads farm town that serves the surrounding agricultural community in Marshall County.

The semi-industrial character of the district does not interfere with its Republican loyalties; the four counties that will cast most of the vote—Kane, De Kalb, Kendall, and La Salle—all went for Reagan easily in 1980. All but La Salle even went for the badly beaten GOP Senate nominee, Dave O'Neal.

Unlike Tom Corcoran's old 15th, which was predominantly rural and extended further downstate, the 14th is a mixture of suburban and agricultural interests. Corn and soybeans remain important to the economy in De Kalb and La Salle counties, where the farm land is among the richest in the

country. But there is a new orientation toward Chicago with the added territory in Du Page and Kane counties.

Redistricting has complicated the geography of the district. Up to now, Corcoran has represented nine full counties and part of a tenth. But his new 14th has only one complete county and parts of eight others. The district line cuts right through Aurora and Elgin; about 2,000 Elgin resident were placed in in Crane's 12th District.

15 (Central—Bloomington, Kankakee)

Edward R. Madigan, whose old 21st District was a compact area in the heart of the state, will find himself campaigning this year in a constituency that sprawls north from his hometown of Lincoln in the center of the state all the way to the edge of Chicago's suburbs.

Redistricting essentially dismantled the old 21st. After carving away the population centers of Decatur and Champaign/Urbana, the map makers combined the remainder of the district with the southern sections of the old 17th and 15th districts, most of them sparsely populated. About 57 percent of the constituents are new to Madigan.

Like the old district, however, Madigan's new one is traditional Republican farm country. Corn and soybean counties such as Iroquois and Ford are among the most Republican in the state; both gave Reagan more than two thirds of their 1980 vote.

Bloomington, with about 44,000 residents, and nearby Normal, with about 36,000, comprise the major population centers in the new district. They are linked by Illinois State University and Illinois Wesleyan University.

Madigan will find it prudent to take an interest in nuclear power. Although the old 21st had no operating nuclear plants and just one under construction, the new 15th includes three operating plants in Grundy County, two under construction in southeast LaSalle County, and a major nuclear-waste storage facility in Morris.

16 (Northwest—Rockford)

Even though it includes the industrial city of Rockford, the 16th has not elected a Democrat to the House in this century, and redistricting changes it very little. While dis-

tricts all around it were undergoing major surgery, the 16th was preserved virtually intact, which is represented by Lynn Martin.

The district does take in two counties, Carroll and Whiteside, which border the Mississippi River. They replace Boone and part of McHenry County, which were pared away. But about 90 percent of the population is carried over from the old 16th.

There is substantial industry in the district. Rockford has a large blue-collar population that is unionized in plants making machine tools, automotive parts, agricultural implements and defense-related aviation equipment.

The rest of the district is largely rural, settled by Germans, Swedes and Yankees transplanted from New England. It ranks first in the state in dairy farming.

John B. Anderson, who is from Rockford, represented the 16th as a Republican in Congress for 20 years until he ran for president in 1980. Anderson's neighbors in Winnebago County gave him about 22 percent of their presidential vote—his second-best countywide showing in the country.

17 (West—Rock Island, Moline, Galesburg)

Republican Rep. Tom Railsback succumbed to an articulate conservative challenger, state Sen. Kenneth G. McMillan, whose agricultural background and conservative views brought him strong support in the rural areas of the new 17th District. But Railsback's campaign weaknesses and an unfavorable set of district lines contributed as much to his defeat as did ideology.

McMillan, whose stands on gun control, abortion, school prayer and a host of other issues make him a favorite of new right groups, repeatedly charged that Railsback was too liberal for the district. Weaknesses in Railsback's speaking style, the result of an injury to his throat nearly a decade ago, probably hurt him more in the new territory than in the old district, where he is familiar.

Despite his problems, the incumbent would almost certainly have won within the old boundaries. Redistricting removed areas where Railsback had performed well in the past and brought in several counties on the eastern side of the 17th where neither candidate was well-known at the start of the campaign.

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In rural Putnam and Stark counties, for example, McMillan received about two-thirds of the vote, undoubtedly benefiting from his background as a livestock farmer and his work for the Illinois Farm Bureau before he became a state legislator.

Railsback's only strong showing came in industrialized Rock Island County, which he carried by more than 2-to-1. The veteran Republican has traditionally received general election support from labor in the adjoining cities of Rock Island and Moline; his large margin there indicated that more than a few Democratic blue-collar workers crossed over to the GOP primary to vote for him.

In his old district, such an impressive margin in Rock Island County would have brought Railsback victory. But in his more rurally oriented redrawn territory, the Rock Island vote was not enough, and he lost overall by about 1000 votes.

Unopposed in the Democratic primary was lawyer Lane Evans of Rock Island. Evans, who has solid support from labor, will offer a sharp philosophical contrast to McMillan in the general election campaign. Unemployment in the district's important agricultural implement industry is high, and it is not clear whether McMillan's rightward bent will play as well among a broader electorate in November as it did in the GOP primary.

Cradled between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, the 17th is prime farm land where most corn and soybean growers can survive even bad years. In the northern part of the district, in Bureau and Henry counties, billboards proclaim the area the "Hog Capital of the World."

The urban center of the district is at its northwestern edge, in Rock Island County, where Rock Island and Moline make up the Illinois half of the "Quad Cities."

The Rock Island Arsenal employs 8,000 defense workers. Also in Rock Island and Moline is one of the country's most intensive concentrations of farm equipment manufacturing.

But times are bad for the agricultural implement industry, and unemployment in the Quad Cities in early 1982 was more than 15 percent. Also in trouble is Galesburg, shifted back to Railsback's territory after a 10-year absence. A city of 35,000, Galesburg recently lost its second largest employer, a lawn mower manufacturer who moved south. A



Tom Railsback

machine tool plant there has also closed, helping to push the unemployment rate to 20 percent.

Like Railsback's old 19th District, the new 17th tilts Republican, although it is more competitive between the parties than other down-state districts. Labor in Rock Island county provides a substantial Democratic base, but the rural areas usually outvote the cities of Rock Island, Moline and Galesburg. Railsback's moderate House voting record had allowed him to carry portions of these cities that prefer Democrats in statewide contests.

This year, however, the lines were somewhat less favorable for the incumbent. While the district is no less Republican, about 30 percent of the population is new, nearly all of it in the rural counties at the eastern end.

18 (Central-Peoria) In the 18th District, held by House Republican leader Robert H. Michel, labor lawyer G. Douglas Stephens was the easy winner of a write-in Democratic primary. He and state Rep. Gerald Bradley decided to try for the Democratic nomination after the candidates' filing deadline passed in early January. Stephens will say in the fall that Michel and GOP economic policies have created the high unemployment that plagues the industrial areas of the 18th. But the district as redrawn still favors the GOP, and Michel is personally popular.

The 18th zigs and zags from Peoria south to the outskirts of Decatur and Springfield, and west to Hancock County on the Mississippi. A mostly rural area, it is linked by the broad Illinois River basin, ideal for growing corn. The only major urban area is

Peoria, with 124,000 residents, and neighboring Pekin, with 34,000.

Robert H. Michel, the House Republican leader, follows a long line of Republican representatives that includes Everett M. Dirksen, later GOP leader in the Senate. The GOP may even be a bit stronger within the new district lines than in the old ones; Reagan's 1980 vote was 60 percent in the old 18th, and 61.2 percent in the new one.

Michel's hometown of Peoria, however, is a troubled industrial city. It is dominated by the Caterpillar Tractor Company, which makes its international headquarters there and employs more than 30,000 people in the district at five different plants. But Peoria has lost much of its other industry in the past decade, including a once-thriving brewery. Pekin is a grain processing and shipping center; it produces ethanol, both for fuel and for drink.

Peoria and Tazewell counties are the only territory remaining from the district that elected Michel in 1970. As a result, the Republican leader faces a constituency about 45 percent new to him. Michel once represented eight counties and most of a ninth, but now he is responsible not only for eight complete counties but parts of eight more. It is still a Republican district—seven of the eight full counties gave Reagan at least 60 percent of the vote in 1980—but it will not be an easy one to represent, especially at a time when it is hit hard by recession.

19 (Southeast—Danville, Champaign-Urbana)

Incumbent Republican Daniel B. Crane ran unopposed in the 19th District. Champaign attorney John Gwinn easily defeated two opponents, securing the Democratic nomination.

The new 19th is part of the Midwest Corn Belt in the north and strictly southern Illinois in the south. The corn-growing areas are fertile and the farms profitable. The southern counties are less prosperous and devoted more to general farming.

Politically, the district tends to divide along the same lines. Yankee Republicans settled the northern portion of the district, while conservative Democrats migrating from below the Mason-Dixon Line settled the southern part.

Before Crane's emergence in 1978, the old 22nd District, similar to the

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new 19th, elected Democrat George Shipley by comfortable margins. But Crane has done well even in the southern counties, where his conservative views have appealed to both parties. He outpolled Reagan in 1980 in the old 22nd.

Crane has been given a constituency in which 28 percent of the people are new to him. He loses four counties in the center of the state—Christian, Fayette, Shelby, and Moultrie—all traditionally Democratic. Christian, a coal-mining county, has a strong Democratic organization. To make up for the loss of population, Crane picked up Hamilton and White counties in the south and the urban portion of Champaign County around the University of Illinois.

Champaign and Urbana together have about 95,000 people, and the university influence leads them into the Democratic column in most contests. They could cause Crane some problems in the long run. Remaining in the district is Danville, an industrial farm market center. Danville has significant Democratic strength, but it is Crane's home and he has done well there. General Motors is a major employer in Danville.

20 (Central—Springfield, Decatur, Quincy)

The 20th is a politically marginal district with unemployment problems that could cause trouble for Republican incumbent Paul Findley. He faces a capable Democratic challenger in Springfield lawyer Richard Durbin, who pushed aside a former state senator in the primary by a 3-to-1 margin.

Redistricting has complicated Findley's life and threatens his career in the House. By design, his new 20th District is considerably more Democratic than the one he has been representing.

The new map drawn up by Democrats weakens him by expanding the district east to Christian, Shelby and Moultrie counties—traditional Democratic territory where southern folksiness has traditionally played better than Findley's Yankee politics of issues and moral principle. It also includes Decatur, an industrial city of nearly 100,000 that often votes Democratic.

Meanwhile, the 20th loses the reliably Republican suburbs of Springfield, and nearby Scott and Morgan counties, also good Findley territory.

The result is a marginal district that the incumbent will have to work to hold, although he does carry over about 65 percent of the constituents in his old 20th. Findley keeps the town of Quincy, on the Mississippi River, and the inner-city part of Springfield, with the state capitol and a substantial block of white-collar workers in state government. Springfield is the district's largest city, and altogether the portion of Sangamon County included in the district will cast more than a quarter of the vote.

21 (Southwest—East St. Louis, Alton)

Melvin Price, the 77-year-old dean of the state delegation, had no trouble with two primary challengers in his 21st District, and the Republican nominee is not strong.

Like Price's old 23rd District, the new 21st is dominated by the industrial region across the river from St. Louis. Steel, petroleum refining and glass are the dominant industries, although they are in serious decline.

East St. Louis is still the largest city in the district, but it is a shell of its former self. Abandoned by manufacturing firms, the city is also losing most of its remaining retail stores. About 21 percent of its population has left in the past 10 years, leaving the city about the size it was in 1910.

East St. Louis is overwhelmingly black, while neighboring Belleville to the south and Granite City to the north are predominantly white. Of the three blue-collar communities, Belleville is the most viable; many of its residents commute to work in St. Louis. Further north is the old river port of Alton, now an industrial community producing steel.

Previously composed only of St. Clair County and half of neighboring Madison, the 21st had to expand significantly to make up its population deficit. It now includes all of Madison and Bond, all but two townships in St. Clair, and sections of Montgomery and Clinton counties.

This poses no immediate problem for the 77-year-old Price. At some point in his 37-year congressional career, Price has represented most of the area added to the 21st. And thanks largely to St. Clair County, the 21st remains the only rock-solid Democratic district outside the Chicago area. St. Clair was one of only three Illinois counties that voted for Carter in 1980.

22 (South—Carbondale)

Democratic Rep. Paul Simon, a narrow winner in 1980, is in a much better position this year in the 22nd District. The remap has made his constituency more Democratic, and the nominee of the Republican Party is Peter G. Prineas, who received only one-third of the vote as the candidate against Simon in 1978. John T. Anderson, who waged an exceptional campaign that nearly unseated Simon in 1980, chose not to run this time.

At the southern tip of Illinois the prairies give way to hilly countryside, and coal replaces large-scale farming as a dominant economic activity. About 15,000 miners work in the Illinois Basin, a coal vein that runs under Franklin, Williamson, Saline, Perry and Jefferson counties. The people here are descendants of 19th century settlers from Kentucky, Tennessee and other parts of the South; they are traditional Democrats, although those loyalties are gradually changing.

The new 22nd is similar in outline to the old 24th, but is has been redrawn for the benefit of Simon, its liberal Democratic incumbent, who escaped defeat by fewer than 2,000 votes in 1980. The most important change is the addition of heavily democratic territory in St. Clair County. Simon takes on Centreville and Sugar Loaf townships, on the southern outskirts of East St. Louis, urbanized blue-collar areas which had been in Price's old 23rd District.

Simon also loses two counties—Hamilton and White—that are historically Democratic but turned against him in 1980. Oil royalty holders there were disappointed in Simon's vote for the oil windfall profits tax, which reduced their income from the area's productive stripper wells.

Carbondale and the other small cities of the 22nd lie along the Main Street of the district: state Route 13. Carbondale is dominated by Southern Illinois University, with 23,000 students.

At the southern tip of the district is Alexander County, in the region called "Little Egypt." The depressed river town of Cairo is its county seat. Alexander gave Jimmy Carter 51 percent of its vote in 1980, making it second only to Cook County in its Democratic presidential showing.

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GOVERNOR

| | Candidate | Residence | Age | Occupation | Vote | Percent |
|--|-----------------------------|------------|-----|---------------------|---------|-----------|
| | *Adlai E. Stevenson III (D) | Hanover | 51 | Former U.S. senator | | Unopposed |
| | *James R. Thompson (R) | Chicago | 45 | Incumbent | 515,797 | 85.4 |
| | V. A. Kelley (R) | Beecher | 67 | Retired carpenter | 39,630 | 6.6 |
| | John E. Roche (R) | Palos Park | 57 | Physician | 48,708 | 8.1 |

HOUSE

| District | Location | Candidate | Residence | Age | Occupation | Vote | Percent |
|----------|--|--|---|--------------------------------|--|---|--|
| 1 | Chicago—South Side | *Harold Washington (D) No Republican Candidate | Chicago | 59 | Incumbent | | Unopposed |
| 2 | Chicago—Far South Side and suburbs | *Gus Savage (D) Eugene M. Barnes (D) Monica Faith Stewart (D) Bruce Crosby (D) *Kevin Walker Sparks (R) | Chicago Chicago Chicago Chicago Harvey | 56 50 29 31 | Incumbent Transit official State representative Civil rights activist | 24,414 22,136 12,756 3,801 | 38.3 35.1 20.2 6.0 |
| 3 | Southwest Chicago and suburbs | *Marty Russo (D) *Richard D. Murphy (R) | South Holland Chicago | 38 53 | Incumbent Real estate consultant | | Unopposed |
| 4 | Southern Chicago suburbs —Joliet, Aurora | Dennis E. Marlow (D) *Michael A. Murer (D) Bernard Vazquez (D) Edward J. Derwinski (R) George M. O'Brien (R) | Calumet City Joliet Steger Flossmoor Joliet | 34 38 53 55 64 | Teacher Lawyer Trucking company manager Incumbent Incumbent | 3,578 7,611 1,794 17,226 20,210 | 27.6 58.6 13.8 46.0 54.0 |
| 5 | South central Chicago and suburbs | John G. Fary (D) *William O. Lipinski (D) John J. Holowinski (D) *Daniel J. Partyka (R) | Chicago Chicago Chicago Chicago | 70 44 25 29 | Incumbent City alderman City health official Former legislative aide | 21,007 35,695 2,248 Unopposed | 35.6 60.6 3.8 |
| 6 | Far west Chicago suburbs—Wheaton | *Leroy E. Kennel (D) *Henry J. Hyde (R) | Lombard Bensenville | 51 57 | Seminary instructor Incumbent | | Unopposed |
| 7 | Chicago—Downtown, West Side | *Cardiss Collins (D) *Dansby Cheeks (R) | Chicago Oak Park | 50 38 | Incumbent Lawyer | | Unopposed |
| 8 | Chicago—North and northwest sides | *Dan Rostenkowski (D) Carl C. Lodico (D) No Republican Candidate | Chicago Chicago | 54 58 | Incumbent Chemical company president | 52,455 5,175 | 91.0 9.0 |
| 9 | Chicago—North Side lakefront, northern suburbs | *Sidney R. Yates (D) John B. McCauley (D) *Catherine Bertini (R) | Chicago Chicago Chicago | 72 34 31 | Incumbent Former city attorney Corporate public affairs manager | 21,997 4,499 Unopposed | 83.0 17.0 |
| 10 | North and northwest suburbs—Waukegan | *Eugenia S. Chapman (D) *John Edward Porter (R) | Arlington Heights Evanston | 59 46 | State representative Incumbent | | Unopposed |
| 11 | Northwest Chicago and suburbs | *Frank Annunzio (D) *James F. Moynihan (R) | Chicago Chicago | 67 29 | Incumbent State transportation official | | Unopposed |
| 12 | Far northwest suburbs—Palatine | No Democratic Candidate *Philip M. Crane (R) | Mount Prospect | 51 | Incumbent | | Unopposed |
| 13 | Southwest Chicago suburb—Downers Grove | *Robert Bily (D) *John N. Erlenborn (R) Mark Q. Rhoads (R) Terrel E. Clarke (R) William P. Vlach Jr. (R) | Lemont Glen Ellyn Western Springs Western Springs LaGrange Park | 47 55 35 62 39 | Auto recycling company owner Incumbent State senator Former state senator Film maker | 25,353 9,888 3,765 1,614 | 62.4 24.3 9.3 4.0 |

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| District | Location | Candidate | Residence | Age | Occupation | Vote | Percent |
|----------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|-----|--------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| 14 | North Central—DeKalb, Elgin | *Dan McGrath (D) | Ottawa | 43 | Former congressional aide | 1,789 | 67.0 |
| | | John Quillin (D) | Seneca | 56 | Chiropractic society official | 882 | 33.0 |
| | | *Tom Corcoran (R) | Ottawa | 42 | Incumbent | 16,003 | 72.4 |
| 15 | Central—Bloomington, Kankakee | Karl L. Reinke Jr. (R) | Dundee | 53 | Energy conservation specialist | 3,788 | 17.2 |
| | | Lawrence M. Secret (R) | Elgin | 35 | Nuclear physicist | 2,291 | 10.4 |
| 16 | Northwest—Rockford | *Tim L. Hall (D) | Dwight | 56 | Former U.S. representative | Unopposed | |
| | | *Edward R. Madigan (R) | Lincoln | 46 | Incumbent | 56,389 | 89.3 |
| 17 | West—Moline, Rock Island, Galesburg | James J. O'Connell (R) | Joliet | 49 | Will County recorder of deeds | 6,738 | 10.7 |
| | | *Carl R. Schwerdtfeger (D) | Elizabeth | 41 | Farmer, teacher | Unopposed | |
| 18 | Central—Peoria | *Lynn M. Martin (R) | Rockford | 42 | Incumbent | Unopposed | |
| | | *Lane Evans (D) | Rock Island | 30 | Lawyer | Unopposed | |
| 19 | Southeast—Champaign-Urbana, Danville | Tom Railsback (R) | Moline | 50 | Incumbent | 23,063 | 48.9 |
| | | *Kenneth G. McMillan (R) | Bushnell | 39 | State senator | 24,134 | 51.1 |
| | | Gerald Bradley (D)† | Bloomington | 55 | State representative | 576 | 22.9 |
| 20 | Central—Springfield, Decatur, Quincy | *G. Douglas Stephens (D)† | Peoria | 30 | Lawyer | 1,936 | 77.1 |
| | | *Robert H. Michel (R) | Peoria | 59 | Incumbent | Unopposed | |
| | | Jon W. Linfield (D) | Champaign | 54 | Former federal farm official | 8,208 | 33.0 |
| 21 | Southwest—East St. Louis, Alton | *John Gwinn (D) | Champaign | 39 | Lawyer | 11,231 | 45.1 |
| | | David Lee Weir (D) | Mattoon | | University counselor | 5,463 | 22.0 |
| | | *Daniel B. Crane (R) | Danville | 46 | Incumbent | Unopposed | |
| 22 | South—Carbondale | *Richard J. Durbin (D) | Springfield | 37 | State senate parliamentarian | 32,480 | 75.5 |
| | | John L. Knuppel (D) | Springfield | 58 | Former state senator | 10,530 | 24.5 |
| | | *Paul Findley (R) | Pittsfield | 60 | Incumbent | Unopposed | |
| 23 | Southwest—Greenville | *Melvin Price (D) | East St. Louis | 77 | Incumbent | 35,908 | 82.2 |
| | | Floyd E. Fessler (D) | Alton | 30 | Oil company engineer | 4,043 | 9.3 |
| | | Sandra Climaco (D) | Bellefontaine | 29 | Homemaker | 3,740 | 8.6 |
| 24 | South—Carbondale | *Robert H. Gaffner (R) | Greenville | 49 | College administrator | Unopposed | |
| | | *Paul Simon (D) | Makanda | 53 | Incumbent | Unopposed | |
| | | Ronald E. Ledford (R) | Eldorado | 30 | Clerk of Saline County Court | 12,303 | 49.1 |
| 25 | South—Carbondale | *Peter G. Prineas (R) | Carbondale | 54 | Energy consulting engineer | 12,752 | 50.9 |

* Nominee.
† Write-in.

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Congressional conservative coalition swamps Northern Democrats



The conservative coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats—the backbone of President Reagan's support in both House and Senate during the 97th Congress—in 1981 showed a strength unequalled in the 25 years *Congressional Quarterly* has measured the coalition's muscle.

Overall, the voting alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats outpolled Northern Democrats on 92 percent of the recorded votes in both houses in which the two groups faced off.

As defined by CQ in analyzing House and Senate votes, the conservative coalition refers to a voting alliance of a majority of Republicans and Southern Democrats against a majority of Northern Democrats.

The 1981 success rate represents a jump of 20 percentage points over the coalition's 1980 score of 72 percent, and marks the third straight year the coalition has gained in strength over the previous year. The coalition's 1981 score is even more striking when compared to the average of its annual success scores of the previous 10 years, which was 64.2 percent.

The sole year studied by CQ during which the coalition enjoyed comparable success was in 1957, when it won 100 percent of the Senate votes in which it emerged and 81 percent of the House votes, for a total of 89 percent.

Support for the coalition increased in 1981 in both House and Senate, among both Republicans and Democrats and in every region of the country compared with 1980, except for Eastern Senate Democrats and Southern House Republicans, whose composite support scores remained about the same.

Throughout the year in both chambers, numerous votes occurred on the Reagan program and most of

them went the president's—and the conservatives'—way. This was particularly true in the Senate, where the Republicans were in the majority. Voting as a bloc on Reagan's key proposals ensued a victory for the White House, with or without the votes of Southern Democrats.

Representative Emerson (R., Mo.) was among those who voted most consistently with the coalition, agreeing with the group 99 percent of the time. Also among coalition supporters were Skelton (D., Mo.), with a 91 percent voting agreement record, and Young (D., Mo.), who went along with the coalition in 76 percent of his votes. Opposing the coalition 95 percent of the time was Yates (D., Ill.).

U.S. SENATE

(1) **Conservative Coalition Support, 1981.** Percentage of 104 conservative coalition votes in 1981 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both support and opposition scores.

(2) **Conservative Coalition Opposition, 1981.** Percentage of 104 conservative coalition votes in 1981 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay" *in disagreement* with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both support and opposition scores.

SENATORS

| | 1 | 2 |
|--------------------|----|----|
| ILLINOIS | | |
| Washington (D-1) | 3 | 77 |
| Savage (D-2) | 5 | 49 |
| Russo (D-3) | 39 | 57 |
| Derwinski (R-4) | 64 | 27 |
| Fary (D-5) | 55 | 39 |
| Hyde (R-6) | 81 | 16 |
| Collins (D-7) | 4 | 85 |
| Rostenkowski (D-8) | 44 | 52 |
| Yates (D-9) | 5 | 95 |
| Porter (R-10) | 61 | 36 |
| Annunzio (D-11) | 59 | 41 |
| Crane, P. (R-12) | 80 | 13 |
| McClory (R-13) | 72 | 28 |
| Erlenborn (R-14) | 65 | 27 |
| Corcoran (R-15) | 75 | 15 |
| Martin (R-16) | 72 | 24 |
| O'Brien (R-17) | 71 | 21 |
| Michel (R-18) | 83 | 13 |
| Railsback (R-19) | 55 | 37 |
| Findley (R-20) | 63 | 36 |
| Madigan (R-21) | 71 | 12 |
| Crane, D. (R-22) | 81 | 16 |
| Price (D-23) | 53 | 41 |
| Simon (D-24) | 28 | 64 |
| MISSOURI | | |
| Danforth (R.) | 83 | 16 |
| Eagleton (D.) | 10 | 86 |

U.S. HOUSE

(1) **Conservative Coalition Support, 1981.** Percentage of 75 conservative coalition recorded votes in 1981 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both support and opposition scores.

(2) **Conservative Coalition Opposition, 1981.** Percentage of 75 conservative coalition recorded votes in 1981 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" *in disagreement* with the

Conservative Coalition. The term "conservative coalition" means a voting alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats against the Northern Democrats in Congress. This meaning, rather than any philosophic definition of the "conservative" position, provides the basis for selection of coalition votes.

Southern States. The Southern states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both support and opposition scores.

REPRESENTATIVES

| | 1 | 2 |
|--------------------|----|----|
| ILLINOIS | | |
| Washington (D-1) | 3 | 77 |
| Savage (D-2) | 5 | 49 |
| Russo (D-3) | 39 | 57 |
| Derwinski (R-4) | 64 | 27 |
| Fary (D-5) | 55 | 39 |
| Hyde (R-6) | 81 | 16 |
| Collins (D-7) | 4 | 85 |
| Rostenkowski (D-8) | 44 | 52 |
| Yates (D-9) | 5 | 95 |
| Porter (R-10) | 61 | 36 |
| Annunzio (D-11) | 59 | 41 |
| Crane, P. (R-12) | 80 | 13 |
| McClory (R-13) | 72 | 28 |
| Erlenborn (R-14) | 65 | 27 |
| Corcoran (R-15) | 75 | 15 |
| Martin (R-16) | 72 | 24 |
| O'Brien (R-17) | 71 | 21 |
| Michel (R-18) | 83 | 13 |
| Railsback (R-19) | 55 | 37 |
| Findley (R-20) | 63 | 36 |
| Madigan (R-21) | 71 | 12 |
| Crane, D. (R-22) | 81 | 16 |
| Price (D-23) | 53 | 41 |
| Simon (D-24) | 28 | 64 |
| MISSOURI | | |
| Clay (D-1) | 4 | 89 |
| Young (D-2) | 76 | 15 |
| Gephardt (D-3) | 69 | 27 |
| Skelton (D-4) | 91 | 5 |
| Bolling (D-5) | 12 | 47 |
| Coleman (R-6) | 85 | 12 |
| Taylor (R-7) | 91 | 4 |
| Bailey (R-8) | 89 | 8 |
| Volkmer (D-9) | 67 | 29 |
| Emerson (R-10) | 99 | 1 |

GOP counts on buying '82 votes

Republicans will find out this year whether massive financial superiority is as helpful to the party in power as it is to the party in opposition.

Their dollar advantage is easy to document. In 1981, Republican Party groups raised nearly 7.5 times as much money as their Democratic counterparts (\$73.6 million to \$9.9 million) and they seem certain to maintain that lead through this year. The Republican National Committee boasts 1.5 million names on its direct mailing list. The Democratic National

Committee list contains just 130,000.

The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee hopes to overcome its relative lack of resources by concentrating on 80 House elections in 1982, spending \$25,000 in each and very little in the rest. Before, this election unit scattered smaller amounts among many more Democrats.

To some extent, at least, Republicans will be able to use money to offset the liability of hard economic times. Political action committee

(PAC) strategists often friendly to the GOP believe Republicans in competitive districts may need a substantial edge in money if they expect to win amid recession.

"The movement of money to the Republicans is going to accelerate," observed Herbert E. Alexander, director of the Citizens Research Foundation, a campaign finance study group. "You see party, PAC and New Right money converging on the same candidates, and they're Republicans."

Campaign Receipts and Expenditures for 1980 House and Senate Contests

ILLINOIS

| | % of Primary Vote | % of General Election Vote | Receipts | Expenditures |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Senator | | | | |
| Alan J. Dixon (D) | 66.7 | 56.0 | 2,396,908 | 2,346,897 |
| David C. O'Neal (R) | 41.5 | 42.5 | 1,316,635 | 1,293,991 |
| Bruce Green (LIBERT) | † | 0.6 | 22,686 | 22,014 |
| House | | | | |
| 1 Harold Washington (D) | 47.5 | 95.5 | 93,338 | 87,345 |
| 2 Gus Savage (D) | 45.0 | 88.1 | 81,473 | 80,213 |
| Marsha A. Harris (R) | — | 11.8 | 3,874 | 11,033 |
| 3 Martin Russo (D)* | — | 68.9 | 214,096 | 211,989 |
| Lawrence C. Sarsoun (R) | — | 31.1 | NA | NA |
| 4 Richard S. Jolovec (D) | — | 32.0 | 66,988 | 66,899 |
| Edward J. Derwinski (R)* | 84.1 | 68.0 | 130,462 | 108,597 |
| 5 John G. Fary (D)* | 72.4 | 79.6 | 69,252 | 65,952 |
| Robert V. Kotowski (R) | 61.8 | 20.4 | 6,927 | 6,925 |
| 6 Mario Raymond Reda (D) | — | 33.0 | 30,558 | 30,147 |
| Henry J. Hyde (R)* | — | 67.0 | 209,818 | 144,469 |
| 7 Cardiss Collins (D)* | 78.0 | 85.1 | 30,175 | 21,773 |
| Ruth R. Hooper (R) | † | 14.9 | 7,255 | 7,255 |
| 8 Dan Rostenkowski (D)* | 89.4 | 84.7 | 303,336 | 170,056 |
| Walter F. Zilke (R) | — | 15.3 | NA | NA |
| 9 Sidney R. Yates (D)* | 86.9 | 73.1 | 74,981 | 64,625 |
| John D. Andrica (R) | — | 26.9 | 9,359 | 12,212 |
| 10 Robert A. Weinberger (D) | 71.9 | 39.3 | 161,823 | 161,037 |
| John E. Porter (R)* | — | 60.7 | 277,477 | 277,699 |
| 11 Frank Annunzio (D)* | — | 69.8 | 108,074 | 59,436 |
| Michael R. Zanillo (R) | — | 30.2 | NA | NA |
| 12 David McCartney (D) | — | 25.9 | 9,426 | 9,424 |
| Philip M. Crane (R)* | — | 74.1 | 326,509 | 191,160 |
| 13 Michael Reese (D) | 66.5 | 28.4 | NA | NA |
| Robert McClory (R)* | 60.2 | 71.6 | 112,760 | 96,805 |
| 14 LeRoy E. Kernal (D) | — | 23.2 | NA | NA |
| John N. Erlenborn (R)* | 81.3 | 76.8 | 79,041 | 66,340 |
| 15 John P. Quillin (D) | — | 23.3 | 0 | 0 |
| Tom Corcoran (R)* | — | 76.7 | 146,086 | 97,859 |
| 16 Douglas R. Aurand (D) | 44.8 | 32.6 | 41,537 | 41,535 |
| Lynn M. Martin (R) | 47.3 | 67.4 | 333,759 | 318,791 |
| 17 Michael A. Murer (D) | — | 34.2 | 31,260 | 29,724 |
| George M. O'Brien (R)* | — | 65.8 | 122,443 | 132,147 |
| 18 John L. Knuppel (D) | † | 37.9 | 34,894 | 34,483 |
| Robert H. Michel (R)* | — | 62.1 | 168,667 | 134,540 |
| 19 Thomas J. Hand (D) | — | 26.6 | NA | NA |
| Tom Railsback (R)* | — | 73.4 | 69,282 | 74,031 |
| 20 David L. Robinson (D) | 88.4 | 44.0 | 676,127 | 674,974 |
| Paul Findley (R)* | 55.6 | 56.0 | 557,582 | 530,568 |
| 21 Penny L. Sevrens (D) | — | 32.4 | 33,277 | 27,577 |
| Edward R. Madigan (R)* | — | 67.6 | 147,512 | 148,147 |
| 22 Peter M. Voelz (D) | † | 31.2 | 21,387 | 20,875 |
| Daniel B. Crane (R)* | — | 68.8 | 193,698 | 165,236 |

ILLINOIS

| | % of Primary Vote | % of General Election Vote | Receipts | Expenditures |
|------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------|--------------|
| 23 Melvin Price (D)* | 80.1 | 64.4 | 19,669 | 21,747 |
| Ronald L. Davinroy (R) | 52.5 | 35.6 | 24,056 | 23,683 |
| 24 Paul Simon (D)* | 72.5 | 49.1 | 212,088 | 217,098 |
| John T. Anderson (R) | — | 48.3 | 43,412 | 42,494 |
| James H. Barrett (CST) | † | 2.6 | 20,094 | 16,759 |

MISSOURI

Senator

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|------|------|-----------|-----------|
| Thomas F. Eagleton (D)* | 85.6 | 52.0 | 1,272,272 | 1,390,560 |
| Gene McNary (R) | 61.2 | 47.7 | 1,180,342 | 1,173,161 |

House

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|------|------|---------|---------|
| 1 William Clay (D)* | 70.6 | 70.2 | 91,202 | 90,658 |
| Bill White (R) | 84.8 | 29.8 | NA | NA |
| 2 Robert A. Young (D)* | 86.3 | 64.4 | 152,823 | 149,633 |
| John O. Shields (R) | 33.1 | 35.6 | 94,812 | 94,811 |
| 3 Richard A. Gephardt (D)* | — | 77.6 | 198,696 | 198,485 |
| Robert A. Cedarburg (R) | — | 22.4 | NA | NA |
| 4 Ike Skelton (D)* | 88.5 | 67.8 | 131,957 | 115,981 |
| Bill Baker (R) | 62.0 | 32.2 | 2,600 | 1,921 |
| 5 Richard Bolling (D)* | 81.7 | 70.1 | 173,017 | 113,299 |
| Vincent E. Baker (R) | 71.6 | 29.9 | 5,826 | 9,080 |
| 6 Vernon King (D) | 39.5 | 29.4 | 22,750 | 22,751 |
| E. Thomas Coleman (R)* | — | 70.6 | 203,912 | 156,655 |
| 7 Ken Young (D) | 46.8 | 32.2 | NA | NA |
| Gene Taylor (R)* | — | 67.8 | 177,363 | 99,889 |
| 8 Steve Gardner (D) | 22.6 | 42.9 | 139,596 | 138,074 |
| Wendell Bailey (R) | 33.8 | 57.1 | 341,281 | 337,248 |
| 9 Harold L. Volkmer (D)* | 86.4 | 56.5 | 172,159 | 177,635 |
| John W. Turner (R) | 55.0 | 43.5 | 199,013 | 196,790 |
| 10 Bill D. Burlison (D)* | 57.6 | 44.8 | 168,064 | 215,455 |
| Bill Emerson (R) | 77.5 | 55.2 | 283,937 | 282,494 |

KEY:

- * Incumbent
- unopposed, in primary
- † did not participate in primary
- (LIBERT) Libertarian Party
- (CST) Constitution Party

NOTE: These figures are compiled by the Federal Election Commission and are for 1980 House and Senate contests during the period from Jan. 1, 1979, through Dec. 31, 1980. Amendments to reports up to Dec. 18, 1981 are included.

SUPPORT SCORE

Reagan commands strong support from Missouri, Illinois delegations in 1981

The blush of President Reagan's honeymoon with Congress shines brightly from an annual study of presidential support—a measure of how often congressional votes matched the president's announced positions in 1981.

On roll-call votes where the president declared an opinion, he and the House agreed 72.4 percent of the time, he and the Senate 87.5 percent of the time.

Thanks to the fact that the Republican-run Senate staged many more roll calls than the House in 1981, Reagan's overall score was 81.9 percent—the highest since the administration of Lyndon B. Johnson (who had a 93 percent score in 1965).

But while the study reflects Reagan's first-year success on Capitol Hill, it is not a measure of how much of his program was approved. And as a measure of an individual lawmaker's loyalty to the White House, the study should be used with caution.

First, the study counts only issues that reach a roll-call vote on the House or Senate floor. Elements of the White House agenda that are abandoned or defeated before they reach the floor, that are quietly compromised, or that breeze through on a voice vote are not counted.

Second, the study counts only votes where the president has indicated clear, personal support or opposition.

Third, all votes are given equal weight. The study does not distinguish major votes from minor ones, close calls from lopsided decisions, or administration initiatives from proposals born on Capitol Hill.

Finally, issues that Congress took many roll calls to resolve may influence the study more than issues settled by a single vote. The classic recent example was in 1978, when President Carter's Senate support score was dramatically enhanced by winning 55 roll calls—mostly procedural—related to ratification of the Panama Canal treaties.

The presidential support score is a rough measure of the comity between

Congress and the president—how often Congress voted the way the president wanted or, conversely, how often he endorsed what Congress did.

Over a period of time, the score reflects numerically the rises and dips in relations between the two branches of government, and individual scores show how members of Congress generally fit the trends.

In his maiden year, Reagan and Congress were in agreement on 55 of 76 votes in the House and 112 of 128 votes in the Senate.

In 1981, the study was heavily weighted toward budget votes—an indicator of the year's legislative obsession.

The process of reconciliation alone, just one crucial step in Reagan's attempt to force budgetary discipline, accounted for 33 of the 204 votes. Reagan's position prevailed on all but four of them.

Republicans, predictably, agreed with Reagan more often than Democrats did. What was unusual, however, was the degree of fealty to Reagan in the GOP-led Senate.

Senate Republicans, on average, voted with Reagan on 80 percent of the roll calls counted. No other president has commanded such loyalty from members of his own party in either house since CQ began its study 29 years ago.

Even Democrat Lyndon Johnson, renowned for his command of Congress in the early years of his presidency, never had more than 77 percent support from House Democrats or 63 percent from Senate Democrats.

With 2-to-1 majorities in both houses, Johnson could be more tolerant of stragglers than Reagan, with his scant 53-47 Senate majority.

The Republican discipline in 1981 was even more evident among the crew of senators elected in 1980. The average support score for the 16 new Republicans in the Senate was 82 percent.

Broken down by region, the presidential support scores illustrate the widely reported growth of two intra-party factions, the conservative Southern "Boll Weevils," and the Republican moderate "Gypsy Moths" of the Northeast and Midwest.

Reagan drew his strongest Democratic support from the Boll Weevils. Of the 10 Senate Democrats most often in agreement with the president, eight came from the South (the other two from Nebraska). In the House, 21 of the 22 most supportive Democrats came from the South.

Reagan's Republican opponents

tended to be from the ranks of the Gypsy Moths. The 21 House Republicans and the 12 Senate Republicans who most often voted in opposition to him all came from the Northeast or Midwest.

Michel (R., Ill.) was one of the highest individual scorers in presidential support, voting for the president's position 80 percent of the time. Among the strongest opponents were Eagleton (D., Mo.) with 64 percent of his votes, and Yates (D., Ill.), who voted against the president 71 percent of the time.

(1) **Reagan Support Score, 1981.** Percentage of 76 Reagan-issue recorded votes in 1981 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the president's position. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

(2) **Reagan Opposition Score, 1981.** Percentage of 76 Reagan-issue recorded votes in 1981 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the president's position. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

U.S. SENATE

| ILLINOIS | | |
|------------|----|----|
| Percy (R.) | 84 | 9 |
| Dixon (D.) | 56 | 41 |

| MISSOURI | | |
|---------------|----|----|
| Danforth (R.) | 84 | 14 |
| Eagleton (D.) | 34 | 62 |

U.S. HOUSE

| ILLINOIS | | |
|--------------------|----|----|
| Washington (D-1) | 24 | 63 |
| Savage (D-2) | 14 | 49 |
| Russo (D-3) | 38 | 54 |
| Derwinski (R-4) | 68 | 24 |
| Fary (D-5) | 47 | 37 |
| Hyde (R-6) | 79 | 20 |
| Collins (D-7) | 28 | 70 |
| Rostenkowski (D-8) | 50 | 49 |
| Yates (D-9) | 26 | 71 |
| Porter (R-10) | 68 | 32 |
| Annunzio (D-11) | 55 | 45 |
| Crane, P. (R-12) | 64 | 28 |
| McClory (R-13) | 66 | 30 |
| Erlenborn (R-14) | 71 | 22 |
| Corcoran (R-15) | 70 | 22 |
| Martin (R-16) | 57 | 41 |
| O'Brien (R-17) | 63 | 24 |
| Michel (R-18) | 80 | 17 |
| Railsback (R-19) | 55 | 41 |
| Findley (R-20) | 70 | 29 |
| Madigan (R-21) | 68 | 20 |
| Crane, D. (R-22) | 66 | 29 |
| Price (D-23) | 51 | 37 |
| Simon (D-24) | 36 | 59 |

| MISSOURI | | |
|----------------|----|----|
| Clay (D-1) | 22 | 68 |
| Young (D-2) | 54 | 42 |
| Gephardt (D-3) | 54 | 43 |
| Skelton (D-4) | 58 | 39 |
| Bolling (D-5) | 20 | 38 |
| Coleman (R-6) | 70 | 28 |
| Taylor (R-7) | 71 | 25 |
| Bailey (R-8) | 75 | 22 |
| Volkmer (D-9) | 43 | 51 |
| Emerson (R-10) | 78 | 22 |

NEW HIGHS IN 1981

Fight over Administration programs pushes up attendance

Conservatives trying to adopt President Reagan's economic program, liberals attempting to stave off deep cuts in social programs and a sharp drop in the number of votes taken combined to push participation in recorded floor votes in Congress to new highs in 1981.

Congressional Quarterly's study of 1981 voting participation showed that members of Congress on average voted on 92 percent of the votes taken, the highest score since CQ began keeping such records in 1951.

The voting participation study is the closest approach to an attendance record for Congress, but it is only an approximation.

Among representatives with high participation records were Annunzio, D.-Ill., Findley, R.-Ill., and Yates, D.-Ill., who all had voting participation records of 99 percent. Savage, D.-Ill., and Bolling, D.-Mo., had records of 50 percent and 53 percent respectively, putting them among the lowest scorers in participation.

The following representatives should be included in the list of members absent for a day or more in 1981 because they were sick or because of illness or death in their families: Bolling, D.-Mo., Derwinski, R.-Ill., Madigan, R.-Ill., Martin, R.-Ill., and Russo, D.-Ill.

Voting Participation. Percentage of recorded votes on which a member voted "yea" or "nay." Failures to vote "yea" or "nay" lower scores—even if the member votes "present," enters a live pair or announces his stand. Only votes of "yea" or "nay" directly affect the outcome of a vote. Voting participation is the closest approach to an attendance record, but it is only an approximation. A member may be present and nevertheless decline to vote "yea" or "nay"—usually because he has entered a live pair with an absent member.



U.S. SENATE

Voting Participation, 1981. Percentage of 483 roll calls in 1981 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay."

| ILLINOIS | |
|---------------|----|
| Percy (R.) | 95 |
| Dixon (D.) | 97 |
| MISSOURI | |
| Danforth (R.) | 98 |
| Eagleton (D.) | 94 |

U.S. HOUSE

Voting Participation, 1981. Percentage of 353 recorded votes in 1981 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay."

| ILLINOIS | |
|--------------------|------|
| Washington (D-1) | 78 |
| Savage (D-2) | 50 |
| Russo (D-3) | 92 |
| Derwinski (R-4) | 91 |
| Fary (D-5) | 87 |
| Hyde (R-6) | 95 |
| Collins (D-7) | 88 |
| Rostenkowski (D-8) | 94 |
| Yates (D-9) | 99 |
| Porter (R-10) | 95 |
| Annunzio (D-11) | 99 |
| Crane, P. (R-12) | 86 |
| McClory (R-13) | 97 |
| Erlenborn (R-14) | 91 |
| Corcoran (R-15) | 92 |
| Martin (R-16) | 93 |
| O'Brien (R-17) | 87 † |
| Michel (R-18) | 91 † |
| Railsback (R-19) | 89 |
| Findley (R-20) | 99 |
| Madigan (R-21) | 82 |
| Crane, D. (R-22) | 93 |
| Price (D-23) | 93 |
| Simon (D-24) | 85 |
| MISSOURI | |
| Clay (D-1) | 76 |
| Young (D-2) | 92 |
| Gephardt (D-3) | 94 |
| Skelton (D-4) | 93 |
| Bolling (D-5) | 53 |
| Coleman (R-6) | 93 |
| Taylor (R-7) | 93 |
| Bailey (R-8) | 95 |
| Volkmer (D-9) | 91 |
| Emerson (R-10) | 98 |

† Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1981 (sworn in after Jan. 5, died or resigned during session, or voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest).

SPENT \$13 MILLION

Conservatives raise four times as much as liberals for 1982 election

Conservative groups are outspending their liberal counterparts by a ratio of more than 4-to-1 in preparations for the 1982 election.

The Federal Election Commission's disclosure reports for 1981 show that the six largest conservative political action committees (PACs) raised a combined total of \$12.8 million during the year and spent just under \$13.3 million. The fund-raising figure represented more than twice the amount raised by the same organizations in 1979, a comparable non-election year.

First on the list was the National Congressional Club, which raised more than the top six liberal groups combined. The North Carolina-based organization, whose honorary chairman and central asset is Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., raised more than \$5.3 million in 1981. It spent just over \$5.8 million, the deficit being made up by money carried over from 1980. The amount raised was only \$1.7 million less than the group's total for 1980, an election year in which the Congressional Club broke all previous PAC fund-raising records.

Second among the conservative groups for 1981 was the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) which raised \$4.1 million.

Although NCPAC is best-known for its negative independent campaign tactics—advertising against such liberal Senate Democrats as Maryland's Paul S. Sarbanes—the group spends about 15 percent of its money helping conservative candidates directly.

Compared to the conservatives, liberal fund-raising groups did poorly in 1981. But in comparison with the recent past, the liberal record is less gloomy. Of the six major groups supporting liberal Democratic candidates in 1982, five did not even exist two years ago. Although the liberal "big six" raised a modest \$4 million in 1981, that was nearly \$3.6 million more than the comparable liberal fig-

continued on page 31

Checklist: How is your Congressman voting in 1982?

The following U.S. Senate and U.S. House Votes were cast during the 98th Congress, First Session (1982).

KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN DESCRIPTION OF BILLS

| | |
|---------|------------------------|
| D: | Democrat |
| R: | Republican |
| HR: | House Bill |
| S: | Senate Bill |
| H Res: | House Resolution |
| ND: | Northern Democrats |
| SD: | Southern Democrats |
| HJ Res: | House Joint Resolution |

KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN VOTING COLUMNS

| | |
|----|---|
| Y: | Voted for (yea) |
| #: | Paired for |
| + | Announced for |
| N: | Voted against (nay) |
| X: | Paired against |
| ? | Did not vote or otherwise make a position known |
| C: | Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict-of-interest. |

SENATE

(1) **S 951 Anti-Busing (Department of Justice Authorization.)** Helms, R-N.C., Johnston, D-La., amendment to prevent the Department of Justice from bringing any legal action that could lead directly or indirectly to court-ordered busing; bar federal courts from ordering busing except in narrowly defined circumstances; and allow the attorney general to reopen existing busing orders imposed in violation of the standards set out in the amendment. After an on-again-off-again seven-month fight, the Senate voted to add the above sweeping amendment busing language to this bill. Key House members oppose all the anti-busing riders, and they may try to keep the bill bottled up in conference if it ever gets that far. Adopted 58-38; R 36-14; D 22-24 (ND 9-22, SD 13-2), Feb. 4, 1982.

(2) **S 951. Cloture Department of Justice Authorization.** Johnston, D-La., motion to invoke cloture (thus limiting debate on anti-busing amendment) on the bill to authorize fiscal 1982 funds for the Department of Justice. Motion agreed to 63-33; R 36-15; D 27-18 (ND 13-17, SD 14-1), Feb. 9, 1982. A three-fifths majority vote (60) of the total Senate is required to invoke cloture.

(3) **S 951. School Assignment by Race.** Gorton, R-Wash., amendment to bar any state or federal court, agency or department from implementing any student assignment plan based on race. Rejected 42-49; R 35-14; D 7-35 (ND 5-22, SD 2-13), Feb. 24, 1982.

(4) **S 951. Department of Justice Authorization, Fiscal 1982.** Passage of the bill to authorize funds for Department of Justice programs; to bar federal courts from ordering students bused more than five miles or 15 minutes from their homes; and to bar the Department of Justice from participating in busing litigation unless it is to reduce or remove busing requirements from existing orders. Passed 57-37; R 34-13; D 23-24 (ND 9-23, SD 14-1), March 2, 1982.

(5) **S 391. Intelligence Identities Protection Act.** Chafee, R-R.I., amendment to provide that private persons can be convicted of criminally exposing U.S. secret agents if they had "reason to believe" their acts would harm U.S. intelligence, as opposed to having an "intent" to harm U.S. intelligence. Adopted 55-39; R

41-10; D 14-29 (ND 4-25, SD 10-4), March 17, 1982. A "yea" supports the president.

(6) **S 391. Intelligence Identities Protection Act.** Bradley, D-N.J., amendment to narrow the definition of "pattern of activities" intended to identify and expose covert intelligence agents, for which a person could be prosecuted under the bill. The amendment would have required that "the main direction" of the pattern of activities "must be to identify and expose covert agents." Rejected 37-59; R 10-42; D 27-17 (ND 23-7, SD 4-10), March 18, 1982.

(7) **HR 4. Intelligence Identities Protection Act.** Passage of the bill to make it a felony to publicly expose the identities of U.S. covert intelligence officers, agents, informants and sources. Passed 90-6; R 51-1; D 39-5 (ND 25-5, SD 14-0), March 18, 1982. A "yea" supports the president.

(8) **S 1080. Congressional Veto Over Agencies.** Danforth, R-Mo., motion to table (kill) the Schmitt, R-N.M., amendment to give Congress a two-house legislative veto over federal agency regulations. Motion rejected 23-70; R 9-43; D 14-27 (ND 11-17, SD 3-10), March 23, 1982. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(9) **S 1080. Adopt Veto Regulatory Reform Act.** Schmitt, R-N.M., amendment to give Congress a two-house legislative veto over federal agency regulations. Adopted 69-25; R 42-11; D 27-14 (ND 17-11, SD 10-3), March 23, 1982. A "nay" vote supports the president.

(10) **S 1080. Limits Veto Regulatory Reform Act.** Eagleton, D-Mo., amendment to prevent judicial review of an agency's designation of whether a rule is "major" under the test that it must have a \$100 million annual impact on the economy. Rejected 27-65; R 6-44; D 21-21 (ND 17-11, SD 4-10), March 23, 1982. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(11) **S 1207. Nuclear Regulatory Commission Authorization.** Hart, D-Colo., amendment to prohibit the government from making nuclear weapons from fuel that has been burned by civilian nuclear power plants. Adopted 88-9; R 44-8; D 44-1 (ND 31-0, SD 13-1), March 30, 1982. A "nay" vote supports the president.

(12) **H J Res 409. Congressional Tax Benefits.** Baker, R-Tenn., motion to table (kill) the Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment to restore the previous \$3,000 limit on federal income tax deductions members of Congress may take for Washington, D.C., living expenses, repealing provisions allowing greater deductions that Congress had passed in 1981. Motion rejected 20-77; R 15-37; D 5-40 (ND 4-26, SD 1-14), March 30, 1982.

(13) **H J Res 409. Congressional Tax Benefits.** Specter, R-Pa., amendment, to the Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment, to eliminate tax code provisions that allow members of Congress to deduct living expenses without substantiation of such expenses. Rejected 37-60; R 28-24; D 9-36 (ND 7-23, SD 2-13), March 30, 1982.

(14) **H J Res 409. State Legislators' Tax Benefits.** Stevens, R-Alaska, amendment (offered on behalf of Dole, R-Kan.), to the Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment to repeal tax code provisions that allow state legislators to deduct travel expenses away from home. Rejected 17-79; R 15-36; D 2-43 (ND 2-28, SD 0-15), March 30, 1982.

(15) **H J Res 409. Congressional Tax Benefits.** Stevens, R-Alaska, amendment, to the Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment, to limit any tax reduction due to deductions for Washington, D.C., living expenses in any taxable year to no more than \$5,000 per member of Congress, and to require each member to insert copies of his federal tax returns in the *Congressional Record* each year. Rejected 24-74; R 16-36; D 8-38 (ND 7-24, SD 1-14), March 30, 1982.

(16) **H J Res 409. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1982.** Tsongas, D-Mass., amendment, to the Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment, to require each member of Congress to insert copies of his federal tax returns in the *Congressional Record* each year. Adopted 55-43; R 24-28; D 31-15 (ND 24-7, SD 7-8), March 30, 1982.

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| Danforth (R) | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | N | N | Y | N |
| Eagleton (D) | N | N | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | Y |

| SENATORS | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 |
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| Danforth (R) | Y | Y | ? | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | Y | N | N | Y |
| Eagleton (D) | N | Y | N | Y | Y | N | N | Y | ? | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | N |

CHECKLIST: 1982 VOTING RECORD

(17) H J Res 409. Congressional Tax Benefits, Fiscal 1982. Hatfield, R-Ore., motion to table (kill) the Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment to restore previous \$3000 limit on federal income tax deductions for Washington living expenses. Motion rejected 32-65: R 23-29; D 9-36 (ND 6-25, SD 3-11), March 31, 1982.

(18) H J Res 409. Reduce Congressional Salaries. Stevens, R-Alaska, amendment, to the Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment, to reduce the salaries of members of Congress by 10 percent. Adopted 63-36: R 34-19; D 29-17 (ND 18-13, SD 11-4), March 31, 1982.

(19) H J Res 409. Congressional Tax Benefits, Fiscal 1982. Hatfield, R-Ore., motion to table (kill) the Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment as amended. Motion rejected 31-68: R 22-31; D 9-37 (ND 6-25, SD 3-12), March 31, 1982.

(20) H J Res 409. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1982. Judgment of the Senate affirming the chair's ruling that the Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment to reform Congressional tax benefits was out of order because it constituted legislation on an appropriations bill. Ruling of the chair upheld 51-48: R 34-19; D 17-29 (ND 11-20, SD 6-9), March 31, 1982.

(21) H J Res 409. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1982. Passage of the joint resolution to provide funding through Sept. 30, 1982, for government agencies whose regular fiscal 1982 appropriations bills had not been enacted. Passed (thus cleared for the president) 81-18: R 43-10; D 38-8 (ND 24-7, SD 14-1), March 31, 1982.

(22) S Res 20. Force Against Cuba, (Broadcast of Senate Proceedings.) Percy, R-III., motion to table (kill) the Symms, R-Idaho, amendment stating the sense of the Senate that the United States is determined to use force if necessary to stop Cuba from aggression or subversion in the Western Hemisphere or from acquiring or using external military support to endanger the United States, and will support "the aspirations of the Cuban people for self-determination." Motion agreed to 41-39: R 15-29; D 26-10 (ND 19-4, SD 7-6), April 14, 1982. A "yea" vote supports the president.

(23) S 1630. Criminal Code Reform Act of 1981. Thurmond, R-S.C., motion to invoke cloture (thus limiting debate) on the motion to proceed to consideration of S 1630, a bill to revise federal criminal laws. Motion rejected 45-46: R 30-18; D 15-28 (ND 8-20, SD 7-8), April 27, 1982. A three-fifths majority vote (60) of the total Senate is required to invoke cloture.

(24) S 1662. National Nuclear Waste Policy Act. McClure, R-Idaho, motion to table (kill) the Proxmire, D-Wis., amendment to allow states to veto a decision by the federal government to put a nuclear waste repository in a state. Motion agreed to 70-19: R 41-7; D 29-12 (ND 17-10, SD 12-2), April 29, 1982.

(25) S 1662. National Nuclear Waste Policy Act. McClure, R-Idaho, motion to table (kill) the Cannon, D-Nev., amendment to allow states to block a decision by the federal government to put a nuclear waste repository in a state unless both the House and Senate passed a resolution overriding the state. Motion agreed to 52-40: R 34-15; D 18-25 (ND 9-19, SD 9-6), April 29, 1982.

(26) S 1662. National Nuclear Waste Policy Act. Johnston, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Thurmond, R-S.C., amendment to delete the section of the bill that would allow the federal government to provide temporary storage for burned fuel from nuclear power plants. Motion agreed to 47-43: R 28-20; D 19-23 (ND 10-18,

SD 9-5), April 29, 1982.

(27) S 1662. National Nuclear Waste Policy Act. Johnston, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Moynihan, D-N.Y., motion to reconsider the vote by which the Thurmond, R-S.C., amendment was tabled. Motion agreed to 46-43; R 28-19; D 18-24 (ND 10-19, SD 8-5), April 29, 1982.

(28) S 1662. National Nuclear Waste Policy Act. McClure, R-Idaho, motion to table (kill) the Stennis, D-Miss., amendment to delay the initial selection of a site for a nuclear waste repository until after a national survey of potential sites was completed. Motion agreed to 63-27: R 39-8; D 24-19 (ND 17-13, SD 7-6), April 29, 1982. A "yea" vote supports the president.

(29) S 1662. National Nuclear Waste Policy Act. McClure, R-Idaho, motion to table (kill) the Cochran, R-Miss., amendment to require that of the first three sites initially considered for a waste repository, one must be in a granite formation. The effect of the amendment would have been to delay the selection of the first three sites. Motion agreed to 83-5: R 46-1; D 37-4 (ND 28-1, SD 9-3), April 29, 1982. A "yea" vote supports the president.

(30) S 1662. National Nuclear Waste Policy Act. Passage of the bill to establish a federal program for the interim storage and eventual permanent disposal of highly radioactive nuclear waste. Passed 69-9: R 40-2; D 29-7 (ND 23-5, SD 6-2), April 29, 1982. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(31) S 2248. Support Summit. (Department of Defense Authorization, Fiscal 1983.) Percy, R-III., motion to table (kill) the Specter, R-Pa., amendment, as modified, stating the sense of Congress that the president should request a summit meeting with leaders of the Soviet Union to discuss the control of nuclear arms. Motion rejected 32-60: R 25-25; D 7-35 (ND 2-25, SD 5-10), May 2, 1982. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(32) DOD Inspector General. Roth, R-Del., motion to table (kill) the Bentsen, D-Texas, amendment to the Roth, R-Del., amendment to establish an office of inspector general in the Department of Defense. The Bentsen amendment gave the inspector general greater independence from the secretary of defense than did the Roth amendment. Motion rejected 45-46: R 44-4; D 1-42 (ND 0-30, SD 1-12), May 12, 1982. (The Bentsen amendment subsequently was tabled by voice vote. The Roth amendment subsequently was adopted (see vote below).

(33) DOD Inspector General. Roth, R-Del., amendment to establish an office of inspector general in the Department of Defense. Adopted 94-0: R 51-0; D 43-0 (ND 30-0, SD 13-0), May 12, 1982.

(34) S. 2248. Department of Defense Authorization, Fiscal 1983. Passage of the bill to authorize \$177,397,810,000 for Department of Defense research and development, procurement, and operations and maintenance in fiscal year 1983, and making a supplemental authorization of \$731,400,000 for fiscal year 1982. Passed 84-8: R 49-2; D 35-6 (ND 21-6, SD 14-0), in the session which began May 13, 1982.

(35) S Con Res 60. Disapproval of FTC Used-Car Rule. Adoption of the concurrent resolution to disapprove a proposed Federal Trade Commission rule to require used-car dealers to inform customers of major known defects in used automobiles. Adopted 69-27: R 40-12; D 29-15.

(36) S Con Res 92. Defer 1983 Tax Cut, Fiscal

1983. Byrd, D-W. Va., amendment to express the sense of the Senate that the Finance Committee should defer the 1983 individual income tax cut or eliminate it and substitute a "fiscally prudent tax cut which distributes benefits fairly to all working and middle-income Americans." Rejected 35-63: R 0-53; D 35-10 (ND 25-5, SD 10-5), May 20, 1982.

(37) S Con Res 92. Decrease Foreign Aid, Fiscal 1983. Baker, R-Tenn., motion to table (kill) the Dixon, D-III., amendment to reduce outlays for foreign aid programs by \$2.4 billion in fiscal 1983-85 in order to maintain foreign aid at the fiscal 1982 level. Motion agreed to 60-32: R 41-8; D 19-24 (ND 18-11, SD 1-13), May 21, 1982.

(38) S Con Res 92. Repeal Indexing, Fiscal 1983. Eagleton, D-Mo., amendment to express the sense of the Senate that the Finance Committee should report a bill repealing the indexing provisions of the 1981 tax cut legislation. Rejected 34-56: R 5-42; D 29-14 (ND 19-10, SD 10-4), May 21, 1982.

(39) S Con Res 92. Reappropriate Defense Outlays, Fiscal 1983. Baker, R-Tenn., motion to table (kill) the Riegle, D-Mich., amendment to reduce defense outlays by \$18.9 billion in fiscal 1983-85, transfer \$14 billion to four domestic programs and allocate the remainder to deficit reduction. Motion agreed to 61-30: R 46-2; D 15-28 (ND 5-24, SD 10-4), May 21, 1982.

(40) WIN Program Supplemental Appropriations, Fiscal 1982. Dixon, D-III., amendment to provide an additional \$38,400,000 to the Department of Health and Human Services for the work incentive (WIN) program. Adopted 76-19: R 35-16; D 41-3 (ND 27-2, SD 14-1), May 26, 1982.

HOUSE

(1) HR 4481. Justice Assistance Act. Passage of the bill to amend the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 to create an Office of Justice Assistance within the Justice Department and to authorize \$170 million in 50-50 matching grants to the states in fiscal 1983 to aid in fighting crime. Passed 289-73: R 92-63; D 197-10 (ND 137-2, SD 60-8), Feb. 10, 1982. A "nay" supports the president.

(2) HR 2329. Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma. Synar, D-Okla., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to waive the statute of limitations applicable to two claims that three Indian nations in Oklahoma have against the United States government. Motion rejected 174-215: R 13-158; D 161-57 (ND 123-25, SD 38-32), March 18, 1982. A two-thirds majority vote (260 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

(3) HR 5708. Section 235 (National Housing Act Extension.) Gonzalez, D-Texas, motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to extend through fiscal 1982 the Section 235 program of mortgage assistance for low-income home buyers. Motion agreed to 341-54: R 124-45; D 217-9 (ND 148-3, SD 69-6), March 23, 1982. A two-thirds majority vote (264 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

(4) HR 6294. Housing Assistance Authorization. St. Germain, D-R.I., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to provide a supplemental authorization to stimulate sales and production of single-family housing. Motion agreed to 349-55: R 135-43; D 214-12 (ND

CHECKLIST: 1982 VOTING RECORD

149-4, SD 65-8), May 11, 1982. A two-thirds majority vote (270 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

(5) **HR 5922. OSHA Authority (Urgent Supplemental Appropriations, Fiscal Year 1982).** Rousselot, R-Calif., amendment to continue under the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) the authority to enforce safety standards on surface mining of stone, gravel, clay and phosphate, rather than transferring jurisdiction to the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) as provided in the bill. Rejected 186-220: R 132-46; D 54-174 (ND 9-143, SD 45-31), May 12, 1982.

(6) **HR 6068. Intelligence Agencies Authorizations, Fiscal 1983.** Passage of the bill to authorize secret amounts in fiscal 1983 for operations of U.S. intelligence agencies. Passed 357-23: R 168-1; D 189-22 (ND 121-21, SD 68-1), May 19, 1982.

(7) **HR 5890. NASA Authorization.** Passage of the bill to authorize \$6,647,300,000 in fiscal year 1983 for National Aeronautics and Space Administration research and development. Passed 277-84: R 102-65; D 175-19 (ND 114-13, SD 61-6), May 13, 1982.

(8) **HR 6267. Net Worth Guarantee Housing Act.** Passage of the bill to revitalize the housing industry by setting up a Treasury fund to guarantee the net worth of qualified mortgage lending institutions. Passed 272-91: R 84-75; D 188-16 (ND 131-4, SD 57-12), May 20, 1982.

(9) **H Con Res 345. "Pay As You Go" Budget, Fiscal 1983.** Miller, D-Calif., substitute, known as the "pay as you go" budget, to require that any increases in spending above fiscal 1982 levels be matched by offsetting revenue increases or spending cuts in other programs. The substitute would result in a \$27.5 billion surplus in fiscal 1985, according to Congressional Budget Office estimates. Rejected 181-225: R 3-179; D 178-46 (ND 130-18, SD 48-28), May 24, 1982.

(10) **H Con Res 345. Job Programs, Reduce Tax Cuts, Fiscal 1983.** Obey, D-Wis., substitute to provide funding for emergency jobs programs while maintaining other domestic programs at real fiscal 1982 levels and increasing non-pay defense programs by 7 percent, and to scale back the tax cuts enacted in 1981. The substitute would result in a \$1.3 billion deficit in fiscal 1985, according to Congressional Budget Office estimates. Rejected 152-268: R 8-176; D 144-92 (ND 133-26, SD 11-66), May 24, 1982.

(11) **H Con Res 345. Increases Non-Defense Programs, Fiscal 1983.** Fauntroy, D-D.C., substitute, proposed by the Congressional Black Caucus, to make substantial increases above current policy levels in spending for non-defense programs, hold defense spending at fiscal 1982 levels, and increase revenues through extensive tax reforms. The substitute would result in an \$18.7 billion surplus in fiscal 1985, according to Congressional Budget Office estimates. Rejected 86-322: R 0-177; D 86-145 (ND 78-79, SD 8-66), May 24, 1982.

(12) **H Con Res 345. Cuts Non-Defense Programs, Fiscal 1983.** Rousselot, R-Calif., substitute to balance the budget in fiscal 1983-85 by making large cuts in non-defense programs while maintaining the three-year tax cut enacted in 1981. The substitute assumed higher revenues under current tax policy than projected by the Congressional Budget Office. Rejected 182-242: R 135-53; D 47-189 (ND 5-154, SD 42-35), May 25, 1982.

(13) **H Con Res 345. Close Loopholes, Fiscal 1983.** Pease, D-Ohio, amendment, to the Latta, R-Ohio, substitute, to express the sense of the House that Congress should close tax loopholes to the maximum extent possible as a way of raising revenues over the next three years. Rejected 68-342: R 7-176; D 61-166 (ND 58-93, SD 3-73), May 25, 1982.

(14) **H Con Res 345. Entitlement and Discre-**

tional Programs, Fiscal 1983. Jones, D-Okla., amendment to the Latta, R-Ohio, substitute, to increase fiscal 1983 revenues by \$7.5 billion and redistribute those funds to entitlement and domestic discretionary programs. Rejected 175-237: R 4-181; D 171-56 (ND 134-19, SD 37-37), May 25, 1982.

(15) **S Con Res 60. Veto of FTC Used-Car Rule.** Adoption of the concurrent resolution to disapprove the Federal Trade Commission rule to require used-car dealers to inform customers of major known defects in used automobiles. Adopted 286-133: R 167-18; D 119-115 (ND 50-108, SD 69-7), May 26, 1982.

(16) **H Con Res 345. Nuclear Freeze Budget, Fiscal 1983.** Conyers, D-Mich., amendment, to the Jones, D-Okla., substitute, to reduce budget authority by \$20.4 billion and outlays by \$8 billion in fiscal 1983, reflecting a freeze on nuclear weapons testing, production and deployment. Rejected 28-383: R 1-184; D 27-199 (ND 25-126, SD 2-73), May 26, 1982.

(17) **H Con Res 345. New Luxury, Excise Taxes, Fiscal 1983.** Wylie, R-Ohio, amendment to the Latta, R-Ohio, substitute, to reduce fiscal 1983 defense outlays by \$7.5 billion and increase revenues by \$15 billion through enactment of luxury and excise taxes. Rejected 128-285: R 37-149; D 91-136 (ND 85-65, SD 8-71), May 26, 1982.

(18) **H Con Res 345. Increase Education Spending, Fiscal 1983.** Simon, D-Ill., amendment, to the Jones, D-Okla., substitute, to increase budget authority by \$668 million and outlays by \$87 million for education programs in fiscal 1983, and to make corresponding reductions in the allowances function. Adopted 323-99: R 100-88; D 223-11 (ND 156-1, SD 67-10), May 26, 1982.

(19) **H Con Res 345. Federal Pay Raise, Fiscal 1983.** Hoyer, D-Md., amendment, to the Latta, R-Ohio, Aspin, D-Wis., and Jones, D-Okla., substitutes, to increase fiscal 1983 budget authority and outlays by \$1.15 billion to accommodate a 7 percent pay raise for federal employees, rather than 4 percent as assumed in the substitutes. Rejected 143-281: R 26-163; D 117-118 (ND 107-50, SD 10-68), May 27, 1982.

(20) **H Con Res 345. Federal Pay Raise, Fiscal 1983.** Hoyer, D-Md., amendment, to the Latta, R-Ohio, Aspin, D-Wis., and Jones, D-Okla., substitutes, to increase fiscal 1983 budget authority by \$396 million and outlays by \$398 million to accommodate a 5 percent pay raise for federal employees, rather than 4 percent as assumed in the substitutes. Adopted 259-159: R 64-123; D 195-36 (ND 144-9, SD 51-27), May 27, 1982.

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| Savage (D-2) | Y | ? | Y | Y | N | ? | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Russo (D-3) | Y | Y | ? | Y | N | Y | N | N | N | N | N | Y | N | N | N | Y | N | Y |
| Derwinski (R-4) | ? | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | N | N | Y |
| Fary (D-5) | Y | # | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | N | Y | Y |
| Hyde (R-6) | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | Y | C | X | ? | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N |
| Collins (D-7) | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | N | Y | N | Y | Y |
| Rostenkowski (D-8) | ? | Y | ? | Y | N | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |
| Yates (D-9) | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | ? | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Porter (R-10) | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |
| Annunzio (D-11) | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | X | N | Y |
| Crane, P. (R-12) | N | N | N | N | Y | ? | N | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | X | N | Y | Y |
| McClory (R-13) | Y | N | N | Y | Y | Y | ? | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | N | N |
| Erlenborn (R-14) | Y | ? | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | N | N |
| Corcoran (R-15) | N | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | N | N | N | N |
| Martin (R-16) | Y | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | N | N |
| O'Brien (R-17) | ? | ? | Y | Y | N | Y | ? | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | N | N |
| Michel (R-18) | N | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | N | N |
| Railsback (R-19) | ? | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | ? | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |
| Findley (R-20) | Y | N | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | N |
| Madigan (R-21) | Y | N | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | Y | N | N | N | N | N | N |
| Crane, D. (R-22) | ? | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | N | N | N | N |
| Price (D-23) | Y | Y | Y | ? | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | Y | Y |
| Simon (D-24) | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | ? | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y |

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| Clay (D-1) | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | Y | ? | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Young (D-2) | ? | N | Y | ? | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | N | N | Y | Y |
| Gephardt (D-3) | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | Y | N | N | Y | N |
| Skelton (D-4) | ? | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | ? | Y | N | N | N | N | Y | N | N | Y | N |
| Bolling (D-5) | ? | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | ? | Y | N | Y | Y | ? | Y | N | N | Y |
| Coleman (R-6) | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | N | Y | N | N | Y | N |
| Taylor (R-7) | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | N | N | N |
| Bailey (R-8) | N | N | ? | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | Y | N | N | Y | N |
| Volkmer (D-9) | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | Y | N |
| Emerson (R-10) | Y | N | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | N | N | Y | N | Y |

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The key votes of 1981

Key House and Senate votes in 1981 provided clear evidence of President Reagan's extraordinary success in shepherding his programs through Congress.

The president's top goals of reducing spending, cutting taxes and bolstering defense were at stake in many of the 44 important votes selected by *Congressional Quarterly* and the American Civil Liberties Union. In most cases, Reagan's position prevailed.

Both House and Senate, for example, supported the administration line on each key vote on the president's economic plan, including votes in both chambers on shaping Reagan's package of budget and tax cuts.

Both houses also supported the president's request for an increase in the federal debt limit. In the Senate, a Democratic challenge to the Reagan tax plan was rejected by a wide margin.

Both chambers supported the president's decision to resume production of the B-1 bomber that President Carter had canceled four years before. The House turned back an effort to block funding for the MX missile.

Although Reagan fared quite well in both chambers the Democratic-controlled House did not give him

How Votes Were Selected

An issue is judged by the extent it represents one or more of the following:

- A matter of major controversy.
- A test of presidential or political power.
- A decision of potentially great impact on the nation and lives of Americans.

Selection of Votes: For each group of related votes on an issue, one key vote usually is chosen. This is the vote that was important in determining the outcome.

In the description of certain key votes, the designation "ND" denotes Northern Democrats and "SD" denotes Southern Democrats.

Votes were compiled from separate reports by *Congressional Quarterly* and the American Civil Liberties Union.

everything he wanted. A resolution blocking the sale to Saudi Arabia of sophisticated radar planes and other military equipment was approved in the House by an overwhelming vote, although the Senate later cleared the sale.

Similarly, the House rebuked the president on his proposals to eliminate the minimum monthly Social Security benefit and to do away with the Legal Services Corporation.

And while the White House was still wrestling with its formal position on an extension of the 1965 Voting

Rights Act, the House sent the president a clear signal of its own strong support for that measure.

In other key votes, the Senate indicated its leanings on two controversial social issues with its votes in favor of far-reaching curbs on abortions and court-ordered school busing for the purpose of racial integration.

Members of both houses shied from voting to approve a congressional pay raise for this year, opting instead for less direct ways to increase their take-home pay which matched if not exceeded an outright pay raise.

The following U.S. Senate and U.S. House Votes were cast during 1981.

KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN DESCRIPTION OF BILLS

| | |
|---------|------------------------|
| D: | Democrat |
| R: | Republican |
| HR: | House Bill |
| S: | Senate Bill |
| H Res: | House Resolution |
| ND: | Northern Democrats |
| SD: | Southern Democrats |
| HJ Res: | House Joint Resolution |

KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN VOTING COLUMNS

| | |
|----|---|
| Y: | Voted for (yea) |
| #: | Paired for |
| N: | Voted against (nay) |
| X: | Paired against |
| ?: | Did not vote or otherwise make a position known |

SENATE

(1) **S 951, Anti-Busing Rider.** (Justice Department Authorization.) Johnston, D-La., motion to invoke cloture (thus limiting debate) on the Helms, R-N.C.-Johnston amendment to prohibit federal courts in most instances from ordering school busing for racial balance. Motion agreed to 61-36; R 36-16; D 25-20 (ND 11-19, SD 14-1), Sept. 16, 1981. A three-fifths (60) of the full Senate is required to invoke cloture.

(2) **School Desegregation.** Johnston, D-La.-Helms, R-N.C., amendment to the Justice Department authorization bill prohibiting federal courts from ordering busing. Amendment could also lead to the reopening of existing busing orders. The vote followed a three month effort by Weicker, R-Conn., to delay action. Passed 60-39, Sept. 16, 1981.

(3) **H Con Res 194. Saudi AWACS.** Adoption of the concurrent resolution disapproving the proposal by President Reagan to sell Saudi Arabia an \$8.5 billion package of military equipment consisting of five E-3A Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) radar planes, 1,177 AIM-9L Sidewinder air-to-air missiles, 101 sets of conformal fuel tanks for F-15 fighter planes and six to eight KC-707 tanker aircraft. Rejected 48-52; R 12-41; D 36-11 (ND 28-4, SD 8-7), Oct. 28, 1981. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(4) **S 694. Fiscal 1981 MX Missile.** (Supplemental Defense Authorization.) Tower, R-Texas, motion to table (kill) the Pressler, R-S.D., amendment to delete \$7 million for research related to the MX missile. Motion

agreed to 79-15; R 44-6; D 35-9 (ND 20-9, SD 15-0), April 7, 1981.

(5) **HR 4144. Waterway.** (Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1982.) Percy, R-Ill., amendment to delete \$189 million for the continued construction of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway. The effect would be to cancel the project. Rejected 46-48; R 27-21; D 19-27 (ND 17-14, SD 2-13), Nov. 4, 1981. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(6) **HR 4144. Clinch River Breeder Reactor.** (Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1982.) Johnston, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Bumpers, D-Ark., amendment as amended by the Tsongas, D-Mass., amendment, to reduce by half (\$90 million) the appropriation for Clinch River (Tenn.) nuclear breeder reactor. Motion agreed to 48-46; R 36-14; D 12-32 (ND 4-26, SD 8-6), Nov. 4, 1981. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(7) **HR 3512. Abortion.** (Fiscal 1981 Supplemental Appropriations.) Helms, R-N.C., motion to table (kill) the Appropriations Committee amendment to delete House-passed language prohibiting Medicaid funding of abortions except when needed to save the mother's life. (The effect of the motion was to restore the House prohibition to the bill.) Motion agreed to 52-43; R 33-19; D 19-24 (ND 12-18, SD 7-6), May 21, 1981. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(8) **HR 1553. Debt Limit Increase.** Passage of the bill to increase the public debt limit to \$985 billion through Sept. 30, 1981. Passed (thus cleared for the president) 73-18; R 46-3; D 27-15 (ND 20-7, SD 7-8), Feb. 6, 1981. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(9) **S Con Res 9. Budget Reconciliation In-**

KEY VOTES OF 1981

structions. Adoption of the concurrent resolution to instruct 14 Senate authorizing and appropriations committees to cut \$36.9 billion from fiscal 1982 spending. Adopted 88-10: R 51-1; D 37-9 (ND 22-9, SD 15-0), April 2, 1981. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(10) **HR 3512. Social Security. (Fiscal 1981 Supplemental Appropriations.)** Hatfield, R-Ore., motion to table (kill) the Moynihan, D-N.Y., amendment stating the sense of the senate in opposition to President's Reagan's proposed reductions on social security benefits. Motion agreed to 49-48: R 48-2; D 1-46 (ND 0-32, SD 1-14), May 20, 1981. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(11) **H J Res 266. Indexing Tax Cuts.** Finance Committee amendment to require, beginning in 1985, that individual income taxes be adjusted, or indexed, annually to offset the effects of inflation. Adopted 57-40: R 43-8; D 14-32 (ND 11-20, SD 3-12), July 16, 1981.

(12) **H J Res 266. Targeting Tax Cuts.** Hollings, D-S.C., amendment to the Finance Committee bill limiting the size of personal tax reductions and targeting them to middle-income taxpayers in order to achieve a balanced budget by 1984. Rejected 26-71: R 0-51; D 26-20 (ND 20-12, SD 6-8), July 22, 1981. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(13) **H J Res 325. Congressional Pay Raise. (Fiscal 1982 Continuing Appropriations.)** Hatfield, R-Ore., motion to accept language proposed by House-Senate conferees to provide for a permanent appropriation of funds for congressional pay increases, when recommended by the president and upheld by Congress. Motion agreed to 48-44: R 37-13; D 11-31 (ND 7-22, SD 4-9), Sept. 30, 1981.

(14) **S 573. Decontrol. (Oil Industry Antitrust Exemption.)** Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, amendment to nullify President Reagan's Jan. 28 order terminating immediately all remaining

controls on oil and gasoline. Rejected 24-68: R 3-47; D 21-21 (ND 18-10; SD 3-11), March 10, 1981. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position. (The bill, to extend through Sept. 30, 1981, antitrust exemptions for oil companies participating in the programs of the International Energy Agency, subsequently was passed by voice vote.)

(15) **S 884. Tobacco Price Supports. (Agriculture and Food Act of 1981.)** Huddleston, D-Ky., motion to table (kill) the Eagleton, D-Mo., amendment to allow the agriculture secretary to establish price support levels for certain grades of tobacco deemed by the secretary to be in excessive supply and non-competitive, except that the level may not go below 75 percent of the level established for the 1982 crop of that kind of tobacco. Motion agreed to 41-40: R 28-17; D 13-23 (ND 6-20, SD 7-3), Sept. 18, 1981.

(16) **S 509. Milk Price Supports.** Melcher, D-Mont., amendment to establish a quota on the importation of casein products into the United States. Rejected 38-60: R 7-45; D 31-15 (ND 19-12, SD 12-3), March 24, 1981. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(17) **HR 4995. B-1 Bomber. (Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1982.)** Hollings, D-S.C., amendment to delete from the bill \$2.429 billion for research on and procurement of the B-1B bomber, and to distribute the money among other accounts. Rejected 28-66: R 5-43; D 23-23 (ND 18-13, SD 5-10), Dec. 3, 1981. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(18) **Legal Services.** Weicker, R-Conn., motion to table Cochran, R-Miss., amendment to the Legal Services appropriations bill which would have cut the current funding level from \$321 million to \$100 million. Cochran amendment would have virtually terminated most of the Legal Services program. Passed 48-33, Nov. 13, 1981.

(19) **School Prayer.** Helms, R-N.C., amend-

ment to the Justice Department appropriations bill barring the Department from spending money to challenge state voluntary school prayer programs. Purpose of the amendment is to prevent the Department of Justice from enforcing the Supreme Court decision declaring such programs unconstitutional. Passed 58-38, Nov. 18, 1981.

HOUSE

(1) **H Res 251. House Earned Income Limit.** Adoption of the resolution to increase the limitation on House members' outside earned income from 15 percent to 40 percent of their official salary, and to increase the limit on each individual honorarium payment for a speech, article or personal appearance from \$1,000 to \$2,000, for calendar years 1981 through 1983. Rejected 147-271: R 73-112; D 74-159 (ND 49-107, SD 25-52), Oct. 28, 1981.

(2) **Legal Services.** Wilson, D-Tex., amendment to prohibit all class action lawsuits by the Legal Services Corporation. Passed 241-167, June 17, 1981.

(3) **Legal Services.** McDonald, D-Ga., amendment to prohibit Legal Services representation of people who have been discriminated against on the basis of sexual preference. Passed 281-124, June 18, 1981.

(4) **HR 3480. Legal Services Corporation.** Passage of the bill to reauthorize the Legal Services Corporation for fiscal 1982-83, at \$241 million annually. Passed 245-137: R 59-116; D 186-21 (ND 137-3, SD 49-18), June 18, 1981. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(5) **HR 3112. Voting Rights Act Extension.** Butler, R-Va., amendment to allow three-judge federal district courts to hear petitions by jurisdictions seeking to bail out from coverage

| REPRESENTATIVES | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 |
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ILLINOIS

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Washington (D-1) | N | N | N | Y | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N |
| Savage (D-2) | Y | N | ? | Y | N | N | N | ? | Y | Y | ? | Y | N | N | N | ? | N | N | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| Russo (D-3) | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | X | X | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Derwinski (R-4) | N | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | ? | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Fary (D-5) | ? | N | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Hyde (R-6) | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Collins (D-7) | Y | N | N | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | # | N | X | N | N | X | X | X | X |
| Rostenkowski (D-8) | Y | N | N | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | ? | N | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Yates (D-9) | N | N | N | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N |
| Porter (R-10) | Y | Y | N | Y | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y |
| Annunzio (D-11) | Y | N | Y | Y | N | N | N | Y | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Crane, P. (R-12) | Y | N | Y | Y | N | # | # | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | ? | N | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| McClory (R-13) | N | N | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | N | Y | Y |
| Erlenborn (R-14) | Y | ? | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Corcoran (R-15) | X | N | Y | N | N | N | N | Y | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Martin (R-16) | N | Y | N | Y | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| O'Brien (R-17) | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Michel (R-18) | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Railsback (R-19) | Y | N | N | Y | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | ? | Y | ? | N | Y | Y | ? | ? | ? |
| Findley (R-20) | Y | Y | N | Y | N | N | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Madigan (R-21) | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | ? | ? | N | N | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Crane, D. (R-22) | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Price (D-23) | Y | N | Y | ? | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | Y |
| Simon (D-24) | Y | N | Y | ? | N | N | N | Y | Y | N | Y | N | N | N | ? | N | ? | Y | N | Y | N | N | N | N |

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ILLINOIS

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| Dixon (D) | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | N | Y |
| Percy (R) | N | N | N | Y | Y | N | N |

MISSOURI

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Danforth (R) | N | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |
| Eagleton (D) | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |

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ILLINOIS

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| Dixon (D) | N | Y | N | Y | N | N |
| Percy (R) | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y |

MISSOURI

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| Danforth (R) | Y | N | N | N | Y | Y |
| Eagleton (D) | Y | Y | Y | Y | N | Y |

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ILLINOIS

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| Dixon (D) | N | N | N | N | Y | Y |
| Percy (R) | N | N | N | N | Y | N |

MISSOURI

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|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Eagleton (D) | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | N |
| Danforth (R) | N | N | N | N | Y | N |

KEY VOTES OF 1981

of the Voting Rights Act. Rejected 132-277: R 102-75; D 30-202 (ND 4-153, SD 26-49), Oct. 5, 1981.

(6) **Voting Rights.** Campbell, R-S.C., amendment to the Voting Rights extension bill to permit a state covered under the Section 5 pre-clearance provisions to "bail out" if two-thirds of its counties are eligible to bail out. Rejected 95-313, Oct. 5, 1981.

(7) **Voting Rights.** McClosky, R-Ill., amendment to the Voting Rights extension bill to eliminate requirements that certain jurisdictions provide bilingual election materials. Rejected 128-284, Oct. 5, 1981.

(8) **H Con Res 194. Disapproving the AWACS Sale.** Adoption of the concurrent resolution disapproving the sale to Saudi Arabia of Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) radar planes, conformal fuel tanks for F-15 aircraft, AIM-9L Sidewinder missiles and KC-707 aerial refueling aircraft. Adopted 301-111: R 108-78; D 193-33 (ND 149-5, SD 44-28), Oct. 14, 1981. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(9) **HR 4995. B-1 Bomber. (Defense Department Appropriations, Fiscal 1982.)** Addabbo, D-N.Y., amendment to delete \$1.801 billion from Air Force procurement intended for the B-1 bomber. Rejected 142-263: R 21-157; D 121-106 (ND 111-42, SD 10-64), Nov. 18, 1981. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(10) **HR 4995. MX Missile. (Defense Department Appropriations, Fiscal 1982.)** Addabbo, D-N.Y., amendment to delete \$1,913,200,000 in Air Force research, development, test and evaluation funds for the MX missile and basing system. Rejected 139-264: R 27-151; D 112-113 (ND 103-48, SD 9-65), Nov. 18, 1981. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(11) **HR 4144. Waterway. (Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1982.)** Pritchard, R-Wash., amendment, to the Myers, R-Ind., amendment, to delete \$189 million for the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway. Rejected 198-208: R 108-70; D 90-138 (ND 62-70, SD 8-68), July 23, 1981. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(12) **HR 4144. Clinch River Breeder Reactor. (Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1982.)** Coughlin, R-Pa., amendment to delete \$228 million for the Clinch River (Tenn.) nuclear breeder reactor. Rejected 188-206: R 70-104; D 116-102 (ND 107-38, SD 9-64), July 24, 1981. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(13) **HR 1553. Debt Limit Increase.** Passage of the bill to increase the public debt limit to \$985 billion through Sept. 30, 1981. Passed 305-104: R 150-36; D 155-68 (ND 112-37, SD 43-31), Feb. 5, 1981. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(14) **H Con Res 115. Fiscal 1982 Budget Targets.** Latta, R-Ohio, substitute, to the resolution as reported by the Budget Committee, to decrease budget authority by \$23.1 billion, outlays by \$25.7 billion and revenues by \$31.1 billion, resulting in a \$31 billion deficit for fiscal 1982. Adopted 253-176: R 190-0; D 63-176 (ND 17-144, SD 46-32), May 7, 1981. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(15) **HR 3982. Budget Reconciliation.** Latta, R-Ohio, amendments, considered *en bloc*, to strike parts of six titles of the bill recommended by the following committees—Agriculture; Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs; Education

and Labor; Post Office and Civil Service; Science and Technology; and Ways and Means—and to substitute provisions endorsed by President Reagan. Adopted 217-211: R 188-2; D 29-209 (ND 3-157, SD 26-52), June 26, 1981. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(19) **HR 4559. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1982.** Passage of the bill to appropriate \$7,440,280,064 for foreign aid and related programs in fiscal 1982. Passed 199-166: R 84-87; D 115-79 (ND 95-36, SD 20-43), Dec. 11, 1981. (The president had requested \$7,775,098,683.)

(20) **S 884. Agriculture and Food Act of 1981.** Adoption of the conference report on the bill to reauthorize for four years price support and other farm programs and, for one year, food stamps. Adopted 205-203: R 125-59; D 80-144 (ND 27-121, SD 53-23), Dec. 16, 1981. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(21) **School Desegregation.** Collins, R-Tex., amendment preventing the Justice Department from using any funds in litigation that might result in school busing for desegregation purposes. It would forbid the Department to participate in almost all desegregation cases. Passed 265-122, June 9, 1981.

(22) **Abortion.** Ashbrook, R-Ohio, rider to Treasury appropriations bill cutting off health insurance benefits for abortions of federal employees unless the woman's life is endangered. Passed 253-167, July 30, 1981.

(23) **School Prayer.** Walker, R-Penn., amendment to the Justice Department appropriations bill barring the Department from spending money to challenge state voluntary school prayer programs. Purpose of the amendment is to prevent the Department from enforcing the Supreme Court decision declaring such programs unconstitutional. Passed 333-54, Sept. 9, 1981.

(24) **Names of Intelligence Agents.** Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment adding a "reason to believe" standard to the Intelligence Identities

Protection Act. This would make it a crime to publish information revealing the identity of a covert CIA or FBI agent or informant if there is "reason to believe" that such disclosure will harm intelligence activities. Passed 226-181, Sept. 23, 1981.

(25) **Names of Intelligence Agents.** Final passage of the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, including a "reason to believe" standard of proof in determining if a crime has been committed by disclosing the name of an intelligence agent. Passed 354-56, Sept. 23, 1981.

(16) **HR 4242. Tax Cuts.** Conable, R-N.Y., substitute amendment to the bill to reduce individual income tax rates by 25 percent across-the-board over three years, to index tax rates beginning in 1985 and to provide business and investment tax incentives. Adopted 238-195: R 190-1; D 48-194 (ND 12-151, SD 36-43), July 29, 1981. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(17) **HR 4331/HR 3982. Minimum Social Security Benefits/Budget Reconciliation.** Bolling, D-Mo., motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate and the possibility of amendment) on the rule (H Res 203) providing for consideration of 1) the bill (HR 4331) to amend the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 (HR 3982) to restore minimum Social Security benefits and 2) the reconciliation act conference report. Motion agreed to 271-151: R 166-21; D 105-130 (ND 56-101, SD 49-29), July 31, 1981.

(18) **HR 4560. Social Program Spending. Labor-HHS-Education Appropriations, Fiscal 1982.** Regula, R-Ohio, motion to recommit the bill to the Appropriations Committee. Rejected 168-249: R 140-39; D 28-210 (ND 3-157; SD 25-53), Oct. 6, 1981. (The bill, appropriating \$87,181,250,000 for the departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and related agencies, subsequently was passed by voice vote.) A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

Conservatives

continued from page 25

ure for 1979. Before 1981, the only liberal organization competitive in the field was the National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC).

Among the five other leading liberal groups, two are linked to potential 1984 presidential candidates. The

Fund for a Democratic Majority has close ties with Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts. It raised \$861,091 last year, its first year, and spent \$636,196. The Committee for the Future of America, linked to former Vice President Walter Mondale, raised \$678,469 and spent just under \$400,000.

1981 Fund Raising

Conservative Groups

| | | |
|---|-------------|-------------|
| Congressional Club | \$5,323,566 | \$5,809,007 |
| National Conservative PAC | 4,143,132 | 4,224,109 |
| Fund for a Conservative Majority | 1,060,727 | 1,063,878 |
| Citizens for the Republic | 1,049,680 | 927,839 |
| Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress | 889,207 | 912,827 |
| Americans for Change | 336,883 | 330,106 |

Liberal Groups

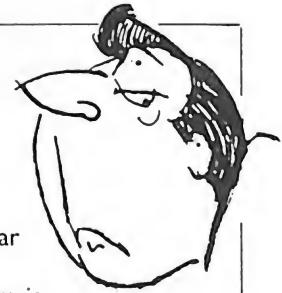
| | | |
|--|-----------|-------------|
| National Committee for an Effective Congress | \$972,863 | \$1,029,430 |
| Fund for a Democratic Majority | 861,091 | 636,196 |
| Independent Action | 684,282 | 673,100 |
| Committee for the Future of America | 678,469 | 399,219 |
| Democrats for the 80's | 600,108 | 287,249 |
| Progressive PAC | 205,033 | 165,765 |

INCISIVE!

As a critique of metropolitan news media, The St. Louis Journalism Review is an advocate in the continuing campaign to improve the quality and integrity of the press and broadcasting. Since 1970, The Review has been offering challenging and provocative assessments of the state of journalism relating not

only to St. Louis but to the nation as well.

Winner of the first Lowell Mellet Award for "Best Press Criticism," The Review was cited for "sustained and hard-hitting criticism," which made a distinguished contribution to the improvement of journalism, both print and broadcast."



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We criticize where criticism is called for, praise where praise is due. We strive to become to the regular newspapers, radio and television stations what those media are to government and other institutions.

PROFESSIONAL!

For eleven years the best among the top professional journalists, many of them working full-time for the press and broadcast media, have cared enough about what you

read, hear and see to act as a kind of loyal opposition to the media for which they work. Whether to-the-point reports on recent events or in-depth analyses, the

credibility and authority of the St. Louis Journalism Review has remained unchallenged—except by those we expose.

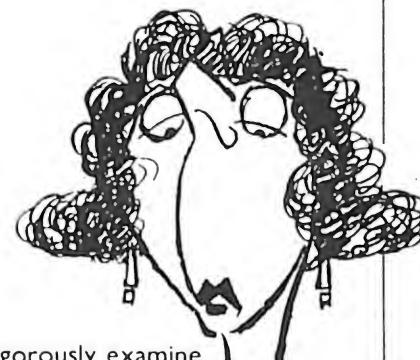


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Some are offended by our outspokenness. Too bad. They ardently hope we'd drop . . . out of sight. Not a chance. Our readers know the service we provide is unique in the country. Join us and find out.

*Awards were also made by the journalism faculty of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale and by the St. Louis Association of Black Journalists

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